The

COMMONWEAL

A Weekly Review of Literature the Arts and Public Affairs

FOUNDED BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

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VOLUME XXIX *December* 30, 1938 NUMBER 10

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THE COMMONWEAL is indexed in the *Reader's Guide, Catholic Periodical Index* and *Catholic Bookman.*

Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc., 386 Fourth Avenue, New York. Annual Subscriptions: U. S. and Canada: $5.00; Foreign: $6.00.

Week by Week

THAT Christmas should mean, to a large part of our world, mainly an opportunity for completely secular high jinks, or for making a great deal of money, is deplorable—especially deplorable as both ideas are helped on plentifully by Christians and Catholics who know better. Those at least who understand the true meaning of the Mass of Christ—the feast of benignity so exquisite, joy so august, mirth so holy, love so wide-reaching that no speech of poetry or even of liturgy will ever compass it—they at least should not be traitors to that understanding. But as to the rest of the Christmas throng? Despite the offensive blatancy, the irreverence and bad taste which mark many of their doings on both sides of the counter year after year, submerging the significance of the recurrent feast fathoms deep—is there not perhaps another aspect of this diffusion of Christmas far beyond the borders of religion? One feels, in flashes, that there may be a kind of pathetic rightness in the instinct which makes so many try to warm themselves at the externals of the feast who will never, probably, hear its real message in their hearts. Vulgarity and crass commercialism aside, these multitudes who do not know that a Child is born, a Son given to us all, yet do know that some moment of solidarity is visiting the race. They keep at least a "feast of friends."

The Outer Ring

THIS thought comes with a special impact at the moment of perusing a wholly secular account of a wholly commercial industry—the greeting-card business—as presented in *Barron's*. The data at first sight are grim enough to anyone of taste or religious sensibility. The gigantic turnover—it was $66,000,000 annually when last computed, in 1935—the 145 manufacturing concerns, the more than 1,000,000,000 cards sold yearly, half of them at Christmas, the pushing and advertising of these wares which has made the public "sentiment-conscious" and brought the business into the big brackets—these things evoke a terrifying vision of all the bad Christmas cards one has ever seen. They are sent abroad multiplied endlessly by these formidable forces: the vaguely religious, the convivial, the downright obscene which should be taken off the market by law; the raised and frosted and gilded; the hearthstones and moons, the Scotties and pussy cats, the cocktail glasses and happy drunks—overwhelming the Christmas earth with their tasteless parodies of meaning. Yet this may be an oblique and uncharitable view. The glimpse *Barron's* gives us of the insides of this particular business is after all no less inspiring than that of any mechanism which meets a large-scale mass demand. The demand is there, unquestionably, and the buyers of these cards get and give considerable pleasure, most of it innocent enough. Moreover—and this is the real point—they too are in that outer ring, that purely natural periphery which forms itself about the great supernatural Fact: giving thereby a sign, even though unaware of what it signifies.

Lima Developments

THE HOPES with which the United States delegation sailed away toward the Pan-American conference have been quite watered down by the actual sessions. The aim that was uppermost—to build up a united Pan-American front to repel any possible Asiatic or European aggression—appears likely to be diluted to a general agreement for inter-American joint consultation. Even the plan of unifying the eight existing Pan-American treaties has been

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shelved. United action against expropriation of the present Mexican variety is even less likely. The opposition of Argentina, and to a lesser extent of Chile and Brazil toward the United States defense scheme is understandable in that these countries already enjoy sizable commercial relations with Germany, and the Nazis' threat to their sovereignty and ours diminishes as the Nazis dip deeper and deeper into the natural wealth of eastern Europe. Culturally too the Argentine has too much affinity for France and Great Britain to feel any natural sympathy for drifting away from the Old World. But in the long run we stand to gain in intangibles from our conduct at Lima. Although the smaller nations appear to be bitterly disappointed at our failure to take a more aggressive position, our neighborly manner and our converse with the other members of the American family of nations as equals with an equal place in projected plans will go far toward dispelling memories of detachments of marines and other couriers of dollar diplomacy. Secretary Hull's insistence that American defense solidarity should be the unanimous wish of the delegates or not be undertaken at all is a case in point. The support recorded for his trade policies should be highly encouraging, while the beginnings of genuine cultural collaboration have a wealth of promise.

Gesture in the Far East

MORE aggressive in character was the granting of a rather extraordinary Chinese loan during the week. Hitherto Japan has been pursuing her Chinese activities without hindrance from the outside world except that countries like the United States have been selling war material to both sides. The closing of the Yangtse to foreign traders has been particularly galling to the Americans, British and others involved. At a session of the House of Lords early this month these restrictions were discussed and cooperation with the United States in help to China explicitly brought forward. It is not surprising then that the British immediately followed up a $25,000,000 loan from the American Export-Import Bank with substantial credits of their own for Chinese purchases of trucks and other equipment. It was also announced that the British were working on a plan to bolster the badly sagging Chinese currency. When the new road from British Burma to the present Chinese capital, Chungking, is finally made passable, these credits may, as the Japanese protest, prolong the war. But at present, at this late date, they seem to be merely gestures of encouragement to a sorely pressed Chinese people. The threat of Soviet or German intervention may also have prompted that action, but so far those credits seem more like an irritant to Japan than an effective play by the "democracies."

Professor of the Future

"THE UNIVERSITIES, colleges and schools are abundantly supplied with teachers of history, but not one has a professorship for the study of the future." William F. Ogburn makes this criticism in a recent Public Affairs Pamphlet which summarizes the report of the Subcommittee on Technology to the National Resources Committee. The pamphlet shows, as the report did, that "the future is not wholly unknown," for the inventions which will change the whole country during the next decades are being patented now. The technological trend is not altogether unpredictable, and useful judgments on the effect which that trend will have on society can be made. Historians know something, after all, about the repercussion of the Industrial Revolution, and the effect on our way of life of particular inventions such as the cotton gin, electric light, automobile, movie, telegraph. Scholars can find probable and likely effects of television, cotton-pickers, the photo-electric cell and diesels. "What is needed is a group of thinkers who will make it their business to devote their whole time to a study of future trends, and whose work will be given adequate recognition." The real rub is "adequate recognition." Citizens must be willing to agree on some plans to meet the future—not blue prints, by any means, of future problems or plans, but preliminary rough drafts. The prudent investor and young business man would clearly do well to get the hints about future machines and industries which these publications contain—and they do it. Can't this common business prudence be broadened to deliberate consideration of trends in social technology, and study of the relationship between known developments in science and invention and probable or desirable social trends? And wouldn't the job of "Professor of the Future" be a fascinating one, rich in antique associations—a paradoxical full circle from ancient court magician.

A Nest of Musicas

THERE is no need to adorn the tale of the Musicas; it already has so many trappings and beauty spots that it passes art, is indeed stranger than fiction. And it supplies the moralist with almost as many points as its story has ramifications. McKesson and Robbins was—and probably still is—the third largest drug firm in the world, with over $80,000,000 in assets. Is not that perhaps the most significant thing about the whole business? For it passes belief that in a smaller, more personal—and human—enterprise it would have been possible for the head of one department, even though he was also president of the company, to refuse to place in the general treasury any of the supposedly handsome profits of his department, and get away with it for years, even obtaining from the general treasury cash

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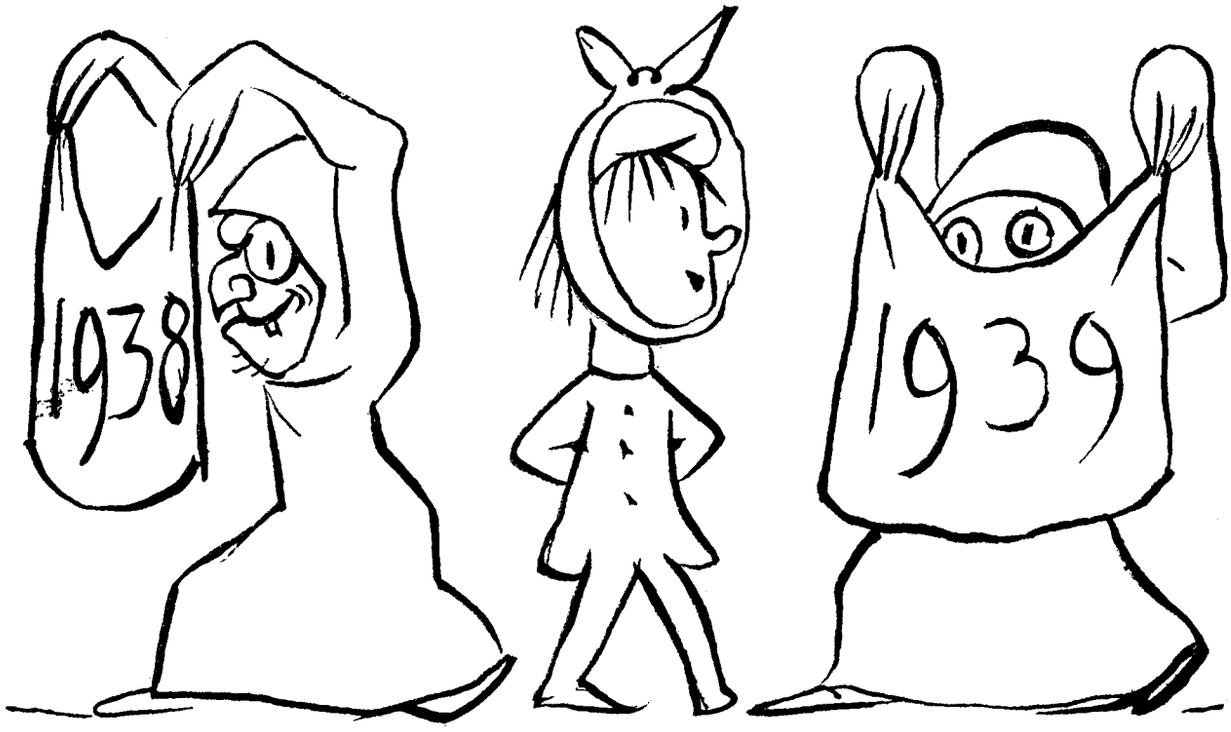

"She Sure Is a Good-Looker!"

with which to pay commissions in his own "profitable" department. Only that pervasive lack of individual responsibility which comes from sheer bigness coupled with widely diversified and absentee ownership could make such a swindle possible. Whatever the advantages of this, this possibility for successful dishonesty is a disadvantage that receives too little attention. The Musicas, it must always be remembered, were successful. During more than ten years they enjoyed their success; even though suicide and jail end the story, they are still successful, because they cannot make restitution, and a swindle is a success as long as reparation is not made. For one nest of Musicas ferreted out, how many others are there that escape the terriers? The graft and politics in American big business is notorious, despite the exceptions—and there are many of them, too. What effect does this constant drain on resources have upon the business cycle? Or are we to fall back on the cynicism of a De Mandeville and believe that only a corrupt society can be prosperous and happy, that every material benefit arises from a vice? Such reflections lead into philosophy; we realize once again that morals is a branch of philosophy, and that it is this science that needs cultivating fully as much as some of its more dismal fellows.

THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT does two most contradictory things. First, it does provide some money to people who tragically need it. The need is so clear, and the abstract and often specific social injustice of their destitution so obvious, that other considerations are almost overwhelmed. Citizens who selfishly dislike the contributions or taxes forced by the social security system oppose the whole thing. But there are perfectly respectable, if rather severely unsentimental, objections to the national social security system. The second thing the Social Security Act does is to help establish the Central Servile State on our land with more deadly inertia than ever. It is an act of social despair. It gives up trying to offer opportunities for families or private organizations or even local and state governments to work out adequate security through their own efforts. It accepts as final and inevitable something like the present business and social structure which relegates millions of families to the bleak status of unproductive poverty. It assumes the lasting separation of the general citizens from the means of production. With sentiment and mind bitterly divided by the twofold character of Social Security, we are forced to seek a security system that will serve the needs which

What Is Security?

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must in sympathy be recognized but we are obligated to accept that system with bad will, attempting every minute to work behind the social security laws so that constantly fewer persons and families will need the outside and impersonal aid of state insurance. At least there is the compensation of seeing the country utilize the democratic process splendidly in building social security legislation. Whatever one thinks of the laws themselves, the way they were enacted, studied, reported on, considered, is an optimistic sign. The findings of this last Advisory Council carry on the work in a sensible and productive manner, and Congress will be able to spend at least some of its time during the next session well, if it examines with honesty and diligence the Social Security Act.

Appeasement of Wonderment

A MILDLY Fascist monthly periodical called "Fair Play" takes us to task for a misstatement of fact in one of our editorial comments: "THE COMMONWEAL in its issue of November 25 bewails the lot of Italy's infant warriors who, by direction of Mussolini, will be deprived of the comic strips of Donald Duck, Mickey Mouse and Popeye the Sailor. . . . It is certainly unworthy of THE COMMONWEAL to comment on false news. On November 25, the true news had already come from Italy that the comic strips of Disney, instead of banished, had been highly praised for their artistic merits. Will THE COMMONWEAL now inform its readers of the truth? We wonder!" Admittedly a news story on the status of American comic strips in the land of Il Duce had appeared by November 25 praising Disney but condemning certain other strip characters and correcting an earlier dispatch on which, perforce, our comment had been based (THE COMMONWEAL goes to press a few days before its publication date). Belated apologies, therefore, to Signor Mussolini, to "Fair Play," to Dr. Disney, to Mickey Mouse and the Seven Dwarfs! May other wonderments be as easily appeased.

The Passing Year

VIEWED in perspective 1938 was definitely a depression year. Early in February the necessity for extra federal relief appropriations made itself felt. Corporation reports for the first quarter showed a terrific slump in business activity and by the middle of April emergency expenditures of $5,000,000,000 for RFC, PWA, WPA and relief, and Housing were getting under way. By July there was a temporary upward trend which continued to the usual seasonal slump of early December.

The President invited five of the nation's business leaders to lunch early in January to inaugurate a new consultation policy. Conferences were almost continuous about the railroads, which have had one of their very worst years. The solution is not yet forthcoming. The administration showed itself more conciliatory toward the Wall Street bugbear while the revised tax bill passed in May included enough reductions to be regarded favorably by business. Public utilities received some encouragement along with various manufacturing plants as potential cogs in the nation's new large-scale defenses.

On the other hand Mr. Roosevelt's anti-monopoly drive developed a lot of steam right from the outset, Solicitor Jackson's denunciatory, trial-balloon speech. The movement is reaching its fullest development with the Temporary National Economic Committee, which has been holding a number of important hearings to show that maldistribution of wealth and income is due to patents, franchises, cartels and other roads to fortune-making monopolies. Public utilities complained continually that government plants were competing with them at ruinous rates. And the Little Business men who convened at the Capitol raised an awful howl about New Deal iniquities.

In June is was freely predicted that we should have the worst farm problem since 1932 and four months later huge surpluses and low prices were general. So far the AAA has produced no permanent solution of the farm problem, despite good emergency work and the gradual educational value of quota balloting and other group activities. The crop control act passed in February, too late to affect a large portion of this year's planting, gives Secretary Wallace the power to achieve crop curtailment by compulsion, if necessary. Export bounties and two-price marketing were advanced as remedies, but low prices and surpluses persist.

The passage of the Wages and Hours Bill last May was a milestone in the history of the American worker. In October the government refused the railroads the 15 percent wage cut they sought as one means of easing their desperate plight. This fall the gigantic General Motors Corporation announced the inauguration of an annual wage plan for all employees of two years standing.

On the whole the year was not a particularly happy one for the American labor movement. Despite a considerable falling off in strikes and a remarkably good showing in holding their membership during the worst months of the slump, the unions could point to few gains for the year. The CIO and AFL remained at loggerheads, while the activities of various political groups to achieve control of important locals and national groups met with considerable success. The CIO arbitration of the United Automobile Workers dispute was one outstanding instance of disciplined unionism; the adoption of a CIO constitution was important. The strength of the new San Francisco employers' "union" and the victory of an anti-union referendum in Oregon were specific ob-

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stacles. Business in general was apparently willing to recognize the theoretical right of collective bargaining, but it was not clear to what extent management hoped to control the unions.

By the end of September WPA rolls exceeded 3,000,000 persons, a new peak, but by the end of the fall upturn Harry Hopkins declared that he expected the lists to continue to fall off at their current pace of 100,000 to 150,000 a month. New data on the problem became available with the reports of the first national unemployment census and of the distribution of national income, the latter the work of the National Resources Committee.

One of the hopeful currents of the year was an acceleration in building activity. The USHA secured all that was available of its $800,000,000 provided for in the Wagner-Steagall act, while Mr. Roosevelt raised the amount for insuring FHA mortgages to the legal limit of $3,000,000,000. Business reports showed that residential building contracts and engineering construction awards just now are well over what they were a year ago. But new homes had still to be provided for the great bulk of the nation's poorly housed families.

In their steady, unspectacular way cooperatives continued to make substantial gains in various parts of the country. Most noteworthy of these was the growth of credit unions to 2,000,000 members, an increase of almost 25 percent in a single year. In the East where cooperatives have been slow in starting, the Eastern Cooperative Wholesale was chalking up a 50 percent increase in business volume. Pro-co-op resolutions at the AFL and CIO congresses indicated a healthy interest on the part of labor unions.

Although the fiscal year ending June 30 registered federal tax receipts at an all-time peak, the government deficit continues to grow and any day now it will pass $40,000,000,000. Pump-priming and accelerated expenditures for national defense should speed up the deficits of coming months.

Events in Europe led to aggressive speeches by the President and other government representatives. Large-scale war games, bigger navy and air force appropriations, the modernizing of coast defenses and the sponsorship of a Pan-American League for defense of the Americas were other indications of a more aggressive foreign policy. On the other hand the "good neighbor" policy toward those in the Western Hemisphere waxed in strength. The conclusion of the Trade Pact with Great Britain was another triumph for the Hull technique of building up international trade. Although all the foregoing indicates that several major domestic problems demand solution, the big question for the immediate future of our country is the imminence of another European war.

The cataclysmic events of the past few months in Europe were all set off, February 5, when it was announced to the German people that fourteen Junker generals and the moderate Foreign Minister, Baron von Neurath, were being dismissed in favor of a new group of generals expected to be more subservient to Hitler's wishes and the aggressive Joachim von Ribbentrop. Then things began to happen. Hitler called Chancellor Schussnigg to Berchtesgaden and before the middle of February Austria had agreed to free her Nazi political prisoners and form a new Cabinet. Almost simultaneously Adolf Hitler made a fiery speech about Germany's needs, and Anthony Eden, unable to turn Neville Chamberlain from his conciliatory foreign policy, resigned from the British government.

In less than a month Austria's doom was sealed and Hitler entered historic Vienna in triumph accompanied by his legions and to the despair of the Jewish and other non-Nazi inhabitants. For a few weeks the Nazis were busily consolidating these gains but before the end of April Conrad Henlein, leader of the Sudetens, was returning from a conference with Hitler and his circle to inaugurate the campaign which was to result in the fearful Czech crisis of September. Perceiving what was in the air France and Britain immediately gave warning of their increasing solidarity. Hitler then visited Mussolini to obtain certain desired assurances. On May 21 came the first war scare when mobilization of the Czech army was widely believed to have prevented a march on Prague. This story enraged the Nazis.

All was then quiet for about six weeks. The first disquieting sign was in early July at the time of the Evian conference on German refugees, when Italy gave evidence of growing anti-Semitism. Ten days later King George and Queen Elizabeth were acclaimed in Paris as symbols of the new entente. The sides were lining up. Two weeks later the British sent Viscount Runciman on his ill-fated mission to Czechoslovakia. Early in September the English were warning Hitler and urging Czechoslovakia to make concessions.

Observers in this country began to note that the French and British were building up huge credit reserves of $3,000,000,000 over here. Then on September 12 Adolf Hitler delivered a fiery speech to 20,000 Nazis at the Congress Hall in Nuremberg. Negotiations reached such an impasse and feeling ran so high that Neville Chamberlain soon was making his way to Berchtesgaden. A week later their second inconclusive meeting, at Godesberg, took place under even tenser circumstances with mobilization of the Czech and German armies. Finally at Munich, September 29, the Munich agreement was signed and the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia began. The people of Europe greeted the end of the crisis with joy.

Any hope that this might lead to general appeasement was rudely shattered six weeks later

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when the Nazis started a wholesale pogrom in retaliation for the murder of Vom Rath. According to the unfailing "Mein Kampf," which is about to be brought out in London in an unexpurgated English edition, Ukraine's wheat fields are Hitler's ultimate objective, but when he plans his next démarche and whether he plans to bowl Poland or Rumania out of the way is still undetermined.

France hopes to regain some of her lost prestige through economic and military rehabilitation and turning her back on several social reforms of the popular front régime. Italy, although at the moment vociferous in her demands for French territory, is not taken so seriously as a military power especially with Hitler diffident to her aims. The tragic war continues in Spain with General Franco having split the Loyalist territory into two parts and having registered other important gains during the year. The Loyalists refuse to give in. Some progress toward appeasement is indicated by the withdrawal of thousands of foreign "volunteers" from both sides of the battle lines.

This was the most tragic of Europe's post-war years. Thousands of people are homeless and destitute through no fault of their own. Force is triumphant and any day another spark may set off the most frightful war in all history.

Japan's better equipped forces continued to walk through stubborn Chinese defenses and added Hankow and Canton to the key points under their control. The Chinese are reduced to guerilla tactics but there seems to be no reason for expecting that a cessation of scorched earth and civilian destruction is in the offing.

Second only to the apparent failure of her policy in Europe is Britain's inability to cope with the problem of Palestine and the Near East. For months there have been Jewish-Arab disorders, murders and bombings. Increased garrisons and proposed solutions have been unable to put a stop to them.

Only in the comparative remoteness and calm of the Americas does there appear to be much hope of better international relations. And so the curtain falls on a troubled 1938, ushering in a New Year fraught with the gravest perils to western civilization. Truly it is a time for clear thinking, willingness to accept responsibility, charity and increasing prayer. E. S. S.

Two Humanisms

By DANIEL SULLIVAN

FROM Carlyle and Emerson on, the Anglo Saxon mind has been easy prey to the ponderosities of the German metaphysicians. The latest hero of a long line of literary retailers of the semi-mystical intuitions of the German philosophers is Thomas Mann. The December 10 issue of the *Nation* features an article by him on "The Coming Humanism." The views of Thomas Mann provide an interesting contrast with those of a great Thomistic philosopher, Jacques Maritain, whose work, "Integral Humanism," has been translated recently into English.

Three basic problems confront any thinker who deals with the question of humanism. First, what is the nature of man; second, what is man's destiny; and third, what should be the practical attitude of man in the face of his destiny? The word "humanism" is terribly ambiguous, for, as Maritain says, the answer to these underlying questions necessarily presupposes a whole metaphysics.

The implied metaphysics of Thomas Mann seems to be a version of Hegelianism modified by overtones of Mann's own genius. This is how the mystery of man is explained, for example. "He springs from nature, from animal nature, and behaves unmistakably after his kind. But in him nature becomes conscious of herself. She seems to have brought him forth not alone to make him lord over his own being—that is only a phrase for something with much deeper meaning. In him she lays herself open to the spiritual; she questions, admires and judges herself in him, as a being who is at once herself and a creature of a higher order."

To one trained in the philosophy of scholasticism, this is a puzzling statement. What is the meaning, for instance, of being produced by nature, and at the same time being more than nature? The answer lies in the fact that we are dealing with a philosophy diametrically opposite in character to scholasticism. The scholastic says that it is the business of the philosopher to analyze reality, which is a mysterious but an intelligible whole. The systematic philosopher of the general type of German Idealism says that reality is a mysterious unity of ultimately contradictory parts. The philosopher of this kind substitutes a mystical intuition for the workings of the natural reason as the scholastic sees it. In a philosophy of this type, then, the principle of contradiction or the principle of sufficient reason does not hold; in short, from the standpoint of the scholastic (or of any of the traditional philosophies of the West) it is the philosophy of irrationalism.

Another strongly Hegelian aspect of Mann's position is his absorption of the religious in the philosophical. The scheme of the Fall and the Redemption are introduced into the very dialectic of history. "The human being is nature's fall from a state of innocence." The Redemption will be achieved in that new man whose coming birth has been already announced.

The character of the new man is already foreshadowed, and in part realized, in the person of the artist. The religious man is the man of care—and care means "the attentiveness, conscientiousness, . . . profound caution" of the artist. "The

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religious is lodged in the human," and man, who is so far the highest product of nature, is in a state of progression toward something higher. The good of man is the realization of the future man. Spiritual life or spiritual death lies in the conscious striving after, or the culpable neglect of, the realization of the superman who is to come: the superman in whom will be reconciled and balanced those twins of opposition whose unbalance today accounts for so much of evil and sin—darkness and light, feeling and mind, the primitive and the civilized.

The love of humanity is, then, bound up with the future. The love of art is bound up with the future. Art is "the expression of all human hope, the image and father of all happily balanced humanity." True art is controlled by intellect, and the true artist is he who exalts intellect and suppresses instinct; and in the true artist is realized symbolically the striving of nature herself toward her supreme goal.

Here, then, is the answer of Thomas Mann to our problems. Man is a half-blind, groping creature, the highest product of a nature become conscious in man for the first time—a creature of paradox, criminal and vile, yet a seeker after truth, beauty and justice. The goal of man lies in that future creation toward which nature is struggling, the humanity to come. Our own stirrings and struggles "have meaning and value only as they stand in groping, intuitive, tentative relation to this coming birth."

I think Mann would unhesitatingly agree to the definition of humanism which Maritain gives. "Humanism . . . essentially tends to render man more truly human and to make his original greatness manifest by causing him to participate in all that can enrich him in nature and in history. . . . It at once demands that man make use of all the potentialities he holds within him, his creative powers and the life of the reason, and labor to make the powers of the physical world the instruments of his freedom." But, again, the verbal expression of the idea of humanism takes its meaning only from the implied metaphysics behind the words.

For Maritain, man is a rational animal, at once a natural and a supernatural being. An individual, a physical unit, on his animal side, and as such, subject to and dependent on the brute forces of physical nature; but also a person, in virtue of the spiritual side of his nature, and as such a creature whose destiny is outside time, and whose profoundest needs surpass the order of the universe. To portray him in any other fashion is to betray him, and the consequences of that betrayal are terrible.

To tie man down to nature and the forces of nature is an attempt to distort his true being. Indeed, it is an effort that can only result in failure. The sources of western humanism are classical and Christian. Aristotle said that "to offer man only what is human is to betray him and to wish him ill." The guarantee of man's value in the Middle Ages was a religious guarantee, and the residue of "transcendence" in western humanism is a sign of "Christian impulses gone astray." In practise man cannot be divorced from the supernatural, and willy-nilly the philosopher who tries to make man purely natural steals something from God. "Whether we turn to Rousseau, to Comte, or to Hegel, we find that, while for these great representatives of the modern age, on the one hand man is regarded in his existential condition as a purely natural being, who is exhibited as detached from any connection with a spiritual order introducing the ideas of original sin and grace; nevertheless, he cannot be thought of as purely natural, so potent are these connections in his being. They claim to deal with a being in a condition or state of pure nature, and into this purely natural man are poured all the aspirations and all the appeals of a life truly divine—*ego dixi: dii estis*—which for the Christian spring from the grace of God."

The choice is a radical one. We can ask of the creature an independence and a self-sufficiency which he does not have. We ask him, weak and helpless as he is, to place his hope in a goal which he is powerless to achieve—a tragic hope which can only end in disillusionment and despair. Or, we can seek for the rehabilitation of the creature, "not in contradistinction to God, or without God, but *in* God." The only way of progress open to the world lies in the recognition of the creature's dependence on God; in this very connection of the creature with God lies the source and the assurance of his value and dignity. The Catholic means it literally when he says, "Man does not live by bread alone, but by every word that cometh out of the mouth of God."

This does not mean that the Christian humanist adopts a supine or indifferent attitude in the face of practical problems. On the contrary, it is his task in this world to champion, passionately and unselfishly, those rights which flow from the freedom which man has in virtue of his spiritual nature—a freedom which neither nature nor the State can violate, a freedom which God Himself respects. The new humanism of the Christian is directed toward the realization in society today of the ideal of a true brotherhood among men. "It is not to the dynamism or the imperialism of a race, or of a class, or of a nation, that it asks men to sacrifice themselves: it is for the sake of a better life for their fellows and for the concrete good of the community of human individuals: so that the humble truth of brotherly love may advance—at the price of constant and difficult effort and poverty—to the permeation of the social order and the structures of common life."

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Anti-Semitism in the Air

By JOHN A. RYAN

AT THE outset of his radio address November 20, the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin expressed deep sympathy with the Jews of Germany. He then undertook to explore and set forth the reasons why Nazism has been "so hostile to Jewry." His explanation was stated in such terms as to suggest that the Jews in Germany deserved, to a considerable extent, the cruel injuries which they have suffered at the hands of the Nazis. The majority of his hearers undoubtedly concluded that, "the Jews had it coming to them."

He asserted: "It is the belief, be it well or ill founded, of the present German government that Jews—not as religionists but as nationals only—were responsible for the economic and social ills of the fatherland since the signing of the Treaty of Versailles." As a matter of fact, there is no evidence that the Hitler government actually held the Jews blameworthy in such great measure. According to Father Coughlin, the Nazis identified the Communists of Germany "with the Jewish race." This assertion is likewise unsupported by the facts. He declared further that Nazism "was ushered into existence as a result of Communism." This is an oversimplification of history and a grave distortion of the conditions which led to and accompanied the triumph of the Nazis in 1933.

Father Coughlin then asked himself whether there existed facts to substantiate these alleged beliefs of "the Nazi party." His answer was a virtual affirmative. His supporting "evidence" consisted mainly of the names of two groups of alleged Jews who were supposedly prominent in the Soviet Government. The first list contains twenty-five names, of whom twenty-four were specified by Father Coughlin as atheistic Jews. These, he declared, were "quasi-cabinet members" in the Lenin Government in the year 1917. Where did he get this list?

In his broadcast the following Sunday, Father Coughlin answered this question by citing a volume entitled, "The Mystical Body of Christ in the Modern World," by Reverend Denis Fahey, C.S.Sp., professor in Blackrock College, Dublin, Ireland. The book he has continued to recommend even on the cover of *Social Justice*. On page 90 of that volume will be found these twenty-five names. Where did Father Fahey get them? From a weekly paper published in London called the *Patriot*. In passing, it should be noted that the Appendices to Father Fahey's volume include three other fairly long extracts from this newspaper. Taken together, the four show that the *Patriot* is definitely anti-Semitic. Indeed, Father Fahey's book itself may fairly be put in the same category. There are numerous illustrations of this bias in the body of the book and there is Appendix V, which presents four pages from the notorious "Protocols of the Elders of Sion." While Father Fahey admits that the "Protocols" have not been established as authentic, he denies that they have been proved forgeries.

To return to the precious list of twenty-five: where did the *Patriot* get it? Purportedly from the issue of March 6, 1920, of the *Documentation Catholique* of Paris, a publication whose statements, of course, have not the authority of the Church. Where did this French journal get it? From an alleged report made by the American Secret Service to the French High Commissioner, says the *Documentation Catholique*.

Here then we have the ultimate alleged source of the list. Father Coughlin quotes Father Fahey, who quotes the *Patriot*, which quotes the *Documentation Catholique*, which declares that "the American Secret Service takes responsibility." Unfortunately for this "cloud of witnesses," Chief Wilson of the United States Secret Service declared, November 28, 1938, after an exhaustive search of the records and consultation of the members of the service on duty from 1916 to 1920: "It is quite certain that no such report was ever made by the United States Secret Service." Indeed, its phraseology suggests that it is anti-Semitic propaganda, rather than the report of an agency of the United States Government.

Father Coughlin does not even quote Father Fahey's book accurately. He refers to the list of names which we are considering as Lenin's "quasi-cabinet." No such expression is found in the Fahey volume. There, the list is described as denoting "individuals" who "made themselves remarkable" in "certain Soviet organizations which came into power in Russia in October, 1917." And we have seen no confirmation in other histories of the Russian Revolution even of Father Fahey's reserved judgment of the twenty-five. In his address of November 27, Father Coughlin declared that the alleged report of the United States Secret Service "was later incorporated in the British White paper." On November 28, the British Library of Information in New York City denied that the British White paper included this document. Nor is such inclusion mentioned in the Fahey book. In the same address of November 27, Father Coughlin asserted that Father Fahey's book, on page 90, represented the alleged Amer-

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ican Secret Service report as stating that "fifty-six out of fifty-nine members of this quasi-cabinet were Jews." The allusion here is undoubtedly to a second list which Father Coughlin had mentioned in his address of November 20 and which apparently was derived from Nazi sources. It is not found at all in Father Fahey's book, either on page 90 or on any other page.

The only other important quotation drawn by Father Coughlin from this alleged Secret Service report dealt with the part played by certain American-Jewish bankers in the Russian Revolution. This participation has not been denied by the bankers themselves. But they have pointed out that it was the revolution which overthrew the government of the Czar that was in question, not the revolution which set up Bolshevism. As Mr. Kerensky pointed out in the New York *Times* November 29, all the important classes in Russia were in favor of deposing the Czar, and the part taken by the Jews was not of exceptional prominence. Of course, no person, banker, Jew, or anyone else, need be ashamed of helping to overthrow the government of the Czar as it existed in the spring of 1917. Father Coughlin uses this part of the supposed report in such way as to suggest that the Jewish banking houses helped to finance the expulsion of the Kerensky government by the Bolshevists and Communists nearly six months later, in October, 1917. This assumption has been denied by the New York Jewish banking houses, as well as by Kerensky, and it remains without substantial support anywhere else.

Probably the worst misrepresentation committed by Father Coughlin was his distortion of a quotation which he made from the *American Hebrew,* issue of September 10, 1920. Into that quotation were inserted the words, "the Russian-Jewish Revolution," thus conveying the impression that this Jewish journal was claiming credit for the establishment of Bolshevism. The fact is that the paper was referring to "the overthrow of Russian Czarism." The latter phrase was in the context of the quotation used by Father Coughlin.

Father Coughlin had a great deal to say about a British White paper, entitled, "Russia No. 1 (1919)," and the alleged fact that some parts of it had been expunged by the British authorities. In this he is following faithfully the excerpts from the *Patriot* published in the Fahey book (page 88). This is a tempest in a teapot; for the only important sentence that was eliminated in the abridged edition was a declaration (September 6, 1918) by a M. Oudendyke to the effect that Bolshevism was threatening the whole world, inasmuch as "it is organized and worked by Jews who have no nationality and whose one object is to destroy for their own ends the existing order of things." This is one man's opinion—an exceptionally competent man according to the *Patriot,* but by itself, even on the *Patriot's* evidence, it is not conclusive.

IN HIS broadcast of December 4, Father Coughlin discussed a statement attributed to Henry Ford by the newspapers in the middle of the preceding week. This statement was one of which no believer in human rights or in Christ's doctrine of brotherly love, need feel ashamed. Nevertheless, Father Coughlin asserted that the newspaper account of Ford's statement was "totally inadequate" and that Ford had subsequently asserted the conviction that there was "little or no persecution in Germany."

Within a few hours after the Coughlin broadcast, Mr. Harry Bennett, personnel manager of Mr. Ford, denied that Ford had characterized the printed text of his statement as "totally inadequate," or that he had expressed the opinion that there was "little or no persecution in Germany." Moreover, Mr. Bennett declared that the original public statement attributed to Mr. Ford was "absolutely correct." The foregoing account is taken from the Associated Press and the United Press dispatches printed in the daily papers on December 5.

Why did Father Coughlin think it necessary to drag into his address of December 4 the Ford statement? As noted above, that statement as published was entirely reasonable, and in complete accord with the Christian doctrine of brotherly love. The only adequate answer is that Father Coughlin is eager, or at least willing, to promote anti-Semitism in the United States. The same inference reasonably emerges from a consideration of the other two addresses. In the one delivered November 20, he tried to justify, or at least excuse or extenuate, the persecution of the Jews under Hitler. Whether the Hitler Government itself believed that it had sufficient provocation for its enormous violations of charity against the Jews is entirely irrelevant to the cause of truth and justice, particularly in this country of ours. No intelligent person could publicly countenance this alleged belief and the conclusions drawn from it without being aware that he was thus making life harder for the Jews in America.

In his radio broadcast on November 27, Father Coughlin repeated, through an electrically recorded transcription, all that he had said in his address of the preceding Sunday, thus making the evil impressions then produced more definite and probably more widespread. He added some material from Father Fahey's book and the falsification of the quotation from the *American Hebrew.* The net effect of the new material brought into his broadcast of November 27 was to arouse further ill-feeling against Jewish people in America and to discourage feelings of sympathy for the Jews in Germany.

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It would seem that the enormous cruelties inflicted upon the Jewish people in Germany, no matter what offenses might have been committed by a small minority of Jewish individuals, ought to move every Christian heart to pity, ought to prevent any Christian from saying anything which would make their lot harder to bear. These considerations involve Jews everywhere, even those Jews who are our fellow citizens in the United States.

It has been urged that Catholics in particular ought to refrain from encouraging this campaign of anti-Semitism from fear that the same methods and the same psychology will be used against them when the next anti-Catholic movement gets under way. The first two commandments provide an infinitely higher motive and an immeasurably more effective one. From every point of view Catholics should refrain from fostering by speech, action or by silence anti-Semitism in the United States.

The Jew and Two Revolutions

By GEORGE N. SHUSTER

IN RADIO addresses and more particularly in the columns of *Social Justice,* Father Coughlin has tried to prove that "international Jewry" is responsible for the success of the Bolshevist revolution. The following remarks are designed to clear up certain current misapprehensions on this subject. I am planning a more extensive treatment in a book to deal with important aspects of post-war history, and shall there supply the sources and references which for the moment I must ask the reader to forego. So much wild talk is being devoted to the topic, unfortunately also under Catholic auspices, that any appeal to sober historical fact has a certain value. The honor of Catholic scholarship and journalism is likewise a matter of some moment to me; and it is in defense of that honor that I am writing here.

The origins of the Russian Revolution are complex. If we are still unable to tell with certainty how the French Revolution of 1783 came to pass, it is small wonder that the cloudy story of the Russian uprising should make possible any number of legendary explanations. Some writers have held in all seriousness that the overthrow of the Czar was managed by international Freemasonry, with Mr. Wilson in the title rôle as a kind of upheaval-fomenting Grand Master. German Protestant fanatics—notably a Pastor Braeunlich—declared that the Pope had engineered it, in order to assure the Jesuits a free hand. By far the most widely circulated explanation is, however, that of the "Protocols of the Fathers of Zion," wherein the whole catastrophe is described as part of a subtle Jewish plot to attain world-domination. It seems hardly necessary to add that all these theories are ridiculous fabrications. Anybody who still circulates them can have no idea of what evidence is.

One thing we do know, however. Lenin lived in Switzerland during the war and had plenty of time to develop a program of action, which he set forth step by step in articles and manifestos. The German government knew perfectly well what he stood for. Nevertheless, in the spring of 1917, General Ludendorff conveyed both Lenin and Zinoviev to Russia in a special coach. The idea seems to have been suggested by Dr. Helphand, who was, it is true, Jewish and who had once been a Russian revolutionary. He was a man of brilliant but unstable character who was employed by the German G.H.Q. as an agent, especially on account of his knowledge of the Ukraine. The suggestion to aid the German cause by undermining Russian resistance therefore came naturally from him. The details were entrusted to a Berlin trade-union leader of Swedish origin, Dr. Wilhelm Jansson. None of those concerned took a long-range view of the situation. They believed simply that the Lenin-Trotsky combination would be strong enough to undermine the position of the Kerensky government and thus take Russia out of the war.

Now it is extraordinary that almost immediately after the arrival of Lenin in April, the Bolsheviki stopped cooperating with other Socialist groups and began winning the soldiers to their side by insisting that all efforts to prosecute the war were unworthy acts of surrender to capitalistic imperialism. That story has often been told but never with more realism than by Dimitry Gawronsky, a Socialist of Jewish decent, who set down his observations in 1919. It is quite probable that for these services Lenin received financial assistance from the German government. That would not in itself be extraordinary, since huge sums were spent by all the belligerents on such missions in nearly every country. It may also be that, if such moneys were expended, the agent was Mendelssohn and Company, the private Jewish banking house of Berlin, which before the war had participated in numerous financial transactions of the Russian state. So far as I know, proof has never been furnished that any such funds were actually advanced. But if they were the bank could only have acted as a party to the maneuver which the German General Staff was executing in

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Russia, and would therefore merely have been rendering a patriotic service. I am inclined to think, however, that all talk about "Jewish finance" and Bolshevism is based simply upon the relationships which had existed between the House of Mendelssohn and the Czars.

That there were a number of Jews among the Bolsheviki is not surprising, in view of Russian policy under Nicholas. One is, rather, astonished to find that the larger Jewish communities fought hard for many years after the revolution to conserve their religion. The Jewish Telegraph Agency reported a good many aspects of that struggle, and some of the material it transmitted was presented in early issues of this magazine. Nevertheless it is even now impossible to speculate with any assurance upon the racial composition of the Bolshevist group. What we do know is that the idea of force, upon which the success of Lenin's action reposes, was profoundly unsympathetic to the Jewish mind. Dostoevsky, who predicted with uncanny accuracy what would happen (cf. "The Possessed"), was also anti-Semitic, but his hostility was based upon money-lending and banking practises and not upon any special relationship between Jewry and those he termed "The Possessed."

Far easier to survey are the relationships between successful Bolshevism and Germany, which was thought to be the scene of the next phase of the world revolution. Now if the Soviet idea and all it implies was a Jewish innovation, we must expect to find important Jewish elements rallying to the cause as it sweeps on. Surely it is inconceivable that Israel's right hand wits not of what its left does. What are the facts? The initial Spartacist movement, out of which the German Communist party later developed, numbered two Jews among its leaders—Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Radek. Rosa was revolutionary enough, Heaven knows, but she repudiated the use of violent means and therewith broke with the trend. And Radek, an opportunist ready to fish in any waters provided they were muddy, was merely a rough advance copy of what would later on attain perfection in Dr. Josef Goebbels.

During the whole chaotic year which followed the war, German Social Democrats nearly wrecked their party trying to keep Bolshevism from getting control of the Reich government. Foremost among those who waged the struggle were five prominent Jews. It was Max Cohen-Reuss who almost single-handed persuaded the Soldiers and Workers Councils not to sabotage the legally constituted government. Karl Kautsky and Eduard Bernstein wrote the first important tracts against the Soviet system. Karl Hilferding used his great authority to prevent wild attempts at universal socialization. And Friedrich Stampfer threw the whole weight of the *Vorwaerts,* Socialism's leading daily, into the struggle against Bolshevism, sometimes at the risk of his own life. These services have been duly acknowledged by all impartial students of the German Republic. It is even strangely enough true that, from the strict proletarian class-consciousness standpoint, one can find fault with these Jewish leaders for too marked a conservatism.

In a more recent issue of *Social Justice,* we read that among the Jewish leaders of the German Communist movement was President Friedrich Ebert. This is an almost grotesque error. Ebert was the scion of an old Baden Catholic family, without any ties whatsoever with either Jewry or Communism. Few men were ever so cordially detested by the Communist party; and the exceedingly self-sacrificial service he rendered to stave off the menace of that party from Germany was officially verified by no less a person than the Chief of the German General Staff in 1918-1919, General Groener.

THE ONLY important accusation which can be brought against these and similar men is pacifism. They hated the thought of war with a passion the average German, who dislikes it too but has been trained to regard fighting as a normal aspect of life, simply cannot understand. That is the reason—as I have pointed out long since—why the Nazis detest the Jew so bitterly. Their anti-Semitism is rooted in the belief that Jewish influence was responsible for the suppression of German guerilla warfare in the Baltic states and elsewhere; for the partial dissolution of the old military caste under the republic; and for a tendency to betray secret rearmament plans. Here the most important instance is Kurt Eisner, a dreamer who for a time became the ruler of Bavaria. He felt that if Germany would confess its militaristic guilt—for inveighing against which he had been imprisoned during the war—the Allies would grant a favorable peace. In this as in many other things, Eisner was quite mistaken; but if one thing is certain, it is that the man was not in any sense Bolshevistic. He detested everything that even remotely smacked of violence, and fell a victim to an assassin's pistol for that very reason.

The great majority of German Jews were not even Social Democrats. While favorable in the main to more liberal forms of government, a good many regarded the passing of the Emperor with a wry grimace. They had many faults, among which a manifest vanity—the sure sign of an inferiority complex—was doubtless the most notable. Many of them talked far too much for their own good inside a state as caste-bound as Germany. Bolshevism tainted them, however, far less notably than it did other German groups. It is true that for a time—especially after 1928—many Jews veered toward radical leftist solutions, as was eminently natural when the menace of Hitler

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became imminent. Others even moved toward the radical right, and the number who favored a reactionary militarist dictatorship is not as small as is often supposed. I think it may be said that Franz von Papen had more overt Jewish support than he had overt Catholic support. Relationships between Jews and the Catholic Center party had always been cordial, since it was this party which, in the early days of its struggle for emancipation in the 1840's, had also championed the grant of full civic rights to the Jews. In 1932, a Jewish candidate was placed on the list of the party's nominees to the Reichstag; and it is also demonstrable that a very considerable number of Jews voted for the Bavarian Catholic party.

I must add that highly important elements in Germany did, after 1919, look upon Russia with great favor. One group held that the nation could throw off the yoke of Allied domination only by becoming Bolshevist and thus destroying the sources from which reparations could be taken. Then, of course, the Allies would have to stamp out the disorder and help to rebuild a new Germany. This theory had a pretty wide circulation in ultra-conservative circles, but was far too wild to prevail. More serious by far was the belief that with the help of Russia German military resistance to France and Britain might prove possible. Large and influential groups subscribed to it, though impressions of what form this alliance could take varied considerably. Some—and these were the most reasonable—thought merely of Russia as an ally against Polish irredentists; and there was a moment when the government itself adopted the plan as its own. Others thought more generally of a close union of forces, which might eventually prove strong enough to throw down the gage of battle to the West. Early Stahlhelm literature is rich in expositions of such hopes, and there is no doubt that Brockdorff-Rantzau, for a long time Ambassador to Russia, dreamed of realizing them.

The Hitler strategists have gone back to the ideals of the Free Corps who, after the war, struggled to win for Germany the border states which had been created first by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and second by a series of nationalist upheavals. Whether they will adhere to these plans is a great and fateful question. It is at all events wholly clear that whatever may have brought about the overthrow of the Czar, the rise of Lenin is directly traceable to the German government of Wilhelm II. Of course Ludendorff and his advisers had no idea that things would turn out as they did. They merely wanted to win the war and take their chances on what was to happen after that. Nevertheless to them and not to any Jewish bankers is the upheaval attributable. In like manner the history of the further progress of the "world revolution" is associated with Jewry only in so far as that Jewry supplied its quota of those who fought for and against that "revolution." In so far as Germany is concerned—the country in which the advance reached the highest yet recorded peak—the evidence shows that the proportion of those who resisted was incomparably greater.

Therewith some proof is advanced against the thesis that Bolshevism is either a Jewish conspiracy or something for which Jewry is especially responsible. Of course it is not all the proof, and it does not close every loop-hole through which the imaginations of those who would have it otherwise can creep. I have set it down here not to whitewash anybody—for I think it pretty clear that the present state of the world is a fairly complete demonstration that all of us have been seriously at fault—but because I believe that unfair assertions are calumnies, however well-intentioned they may be. No one has as yet ventured to maintain that such things redound to the credit either of Catholic scholarship or of Catholic oratory.

The Exiles

The men that work in the land wear crowns
That none on earth can see:
Princes' hands are on the plow,
And royal sweat flows free.

Angels attend the man who has
No place to lay his head:
  Who break beneath the tyrant's rod,
  The least of these are sons of God,
And royal blood is shed.

The men who stand in line for crumbs
Have mansions in the stars,
And the sky will shake for justice' sake,
When they have bared their scars.

Who left the stranger suffering
And gambled while he died
  Will grovel at his garment's hem
  And weep with fear when he shows them
The spear-mark in his side.

But they who walk as kings with kings
Shall find their hearts' accord,
And angels' bread and angels' mead
Be set upon their board.

The men that work in the land wear crowns,
To none on earth revealed,
  But the royal arms about them shine,
  For they have taken as their sign
The lilies of the field.

And dreams of home fill the eyes of men,
Dreams of ancestral lands—
Of the city that has no need of sun,
Of the house not built with hands.

HENRY RAGO.

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Means of Peace

By GERALD VANN

WHAT, then, is the individual to do if he finds his country on the point of going to war? Let us suppose him to be convinced that his country has the *right* to go to war (a case of clearly unjust aggression by another state, his own having fulfilled the conditions enumerated in the articles of December 9 and 16), or indeed the *duty* to go to war (a case of resisting the triumph of the principle of might over right); but let us suppose him at the same time aware that his country in waging the war will employ means which are immoral. How is he to act? He must be guided by three principles: (a) he must not himself employ evil means; (b) he must not formally cooperate in the employment by others of evil means; (c) he must not so act as to lay himself open to the danger of giving justifiable scandal—the scandal of acquiescence by Christians in what is evil.

If it were possible for Catholics to organize themselves, and so to act corporately, it might be possible for them corporately to repudiate the use of evil means, to define the conditions under which they consider the resort to arms to be lawful, and so, corporately, to fight on those terms. (The practical difficulties of such a solution are obvious.) If left to himself, the individual is forced to make up his own mind after consideration of the above questions, in the light of the facts as he knows them. How far are the evil means, the employment of which is certain, *essential* to the war? Can we hold, for example, that the killing *directa intentione* of the civil populations is a crime restricted to a particular section of the fighting forces; and that therefore service in other sections can still be licit? Or must we say that any service whatsoever is at least a formal cooperation in the crime? We are speaking, of course, of such bombing of civil populations as is the result of deliberate policy on the part of those directing the war, not of occasional (accidental) excesses on the part of individuals: the question therefore is whether one can repudiate this or that part of the general policy, or whether the policy is "indivisible" in the sense that any of its elements must be held to affect the whole conduct of the war. There is, moreover, a special difficulty with regard to hate propaganda as a deliberate policy; for this clearly cannot be restricted to one section or another of the fighting forces. Again, the question of the divisibility of war is made more difficult when we consider the danger of scandal: for positive participation of any sort in the war is more than likely to be taken as unrestricted approval of the war.

These problems are not to be lightly treated, precisely because of their complexity, as well as of the gravity of the issues involved. In default of authoritative guidance, or of practical unanimity among theologians, it must be left to the individual to decide for himself. One has tried to suggest lines of consideration—leaving them in the form of questions rather than in the form of dogmatic assertions, since the issue is still so much in debate—in the hope that, should necessity tragically arise, they may help to prevent the forming of hasty or ill-considered judgments, at variance either with principle or with fact.

Decision not to participate places the Catholic in a position which, potentially at least, is deeply painful to himself and seems to allow him no adequate fulfilment of the claims of society upon him. For it is possible, as we have seen, that he will find society, his society, fighting an enemy which is his enemy, while he is forbidden to take part in the battle. Must he then resign himself to playing the part of passive spectator; is he to hold that in this respect at least society can have no claim upon him? Certainly this cannot be right. We are members of society, and we remain members of society; we cannot absolve ourselves from the duty of working for the good—if need be, for the preservation—of society. And the more critical the plight of mankind as a whole, the greater the duty of individual men and women to dedicate themselves to mankind's service. The inability, then, of the Christian to take part in this particular method of trying to serve humanity lays upon him the special obligation of working by other means to resist—and still more, to prevent—the spread of evil. Inability to take up arms is not an excuse for doing nothing, for contracting out of society; it is a summons to more intensive labor, to the building up of a world in which the resort to arms may not need to be in question.

What form could, and should, this labor take?

There is, first of all, the problem of peaceful change. One of the causes of war is the tendency on the part of satisfied nations to refuse to listen to the pleas of dissatisfied nations until some element of blackmail is introduced. This is not only bad policy, but bad morals. The dynamic character of international society is not sufficiently appreciated; and ceaseless tension and bitterness are the result. The attempt to maintain a *status quo* indefinitely is bound sooner or later to mean injustice. We should, then, study the whole question, the machinery of peaceful change and the possibilities of improving it, the lack of conscious-

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ness of the problem and how this lack might be remedied—for it should not be forgotten that the changing of public opinion, and even of official political opinion, is something that can be done not only by powerful control of press or platform, but by day to day conversation and discussion with the man in the street.

There is the problem of friendly relations between nations. It is true that the common peoples of the various nations are only too ready to exist on friendly terms with each other; and that spirit is already a powerful deterrent where war is concerned. But it needs to be fostered and strengthened by constant contacts. There is much being done here already: exchange of visits by ex-service men, schools, camps and so forth; but the idea is not yet sufficiently ventilated and there is much to be done.

There is a more difficult problem. Whatever its success or failure in practise, the theory of power-politics is an un-Christian theory. It must, moreover, lead eventually to disaster. There can be no real and abiding unity without charity; and charity and power-politics are mutually opposed. This is, indeed, but one aspect of a larger problem. The greatest need of our time in this context is a wide and profound appreciation of the unity of world society, an effort to establish a spiritual unity as counterpart to the already established material unity; and a will to international cooperation. There must, moreover, be some tangible expression, in the political sphere, of world unity; and this brings us to the vexed question of the League.

May a European be permitted to insert here a few reflections on the common American attitude to the League in particular and to European political entanglements in general? Since Europe presents the appearance of a crumbling house inhabited by homicidal maniacs, it is reasonable for the American to say: "Why should we involve ourselves in this pandemonium?" And where war is concerned, that feeling must be immovably strong. But there is another side to the question. Were there to be another world war, America would inevitably be implicated, even though she remained neutral throughout (and it is very unlikely that she would find herself able to do so). She would be materially affected, by the economic chaos of the rest of the world. She would be culturally affected, by the decay of western civilization. And she would be politically affected, for political ideas and fermentations find the seas no obstacle.

These things, surely, should be set against the natural and all too intelligible instinct of isolationism. And their weight is enhanced by the very fact that American intervention in the affairs of the world is potentially at least so powerful.

What, then, of the League? It will be remembered that the idea which the existing League so imperfectly enshrines, the idea of a collaboration of all the peoples of the earth, discussing, legislating, executing, for the good of the world as a whole, is an idea whose roots lie far back in Catholic traditional thought. It will be remembered that such a League was earnestly advocated by Pope Benedict XV, who saw in it the only salvation for the world. The Christian must desire, and work for, and pray for, a really just and effective league of all the nations; must desire, therefore, and work for, and pray for, the day when the existing League may be remedied of its defects, cease to offer any excuse for being derided as a faction, a machine for the maintaining of the *status quo* in the interests of a few states, and become instead the stronghold of equity.

ALWAYS, in this as in every other ethical context, it is to the question of means that we must ultimately return. We know well enough what, as Christians, we want; what we should like to see achieved in our world. But how are we to set about achieving it? Materialism, the spirit of the world, has eaten into us; and we tend to think ourselves justified in adopting for the attainment of Christian ends, the means which that worldly spirit chooses for the attainment of un-Christian ends. What were the means proposed to Christ by Satan in the wilderness? The methods of pride and violence. But he chose humiliation and the Cross. We shall not conquer the world for Christ, we shall not win back to Him the multitude we have lost, if we rely on pride and power. On the contrary, "we who have nothing, even that which we have shall be taken from us."

To be clear about this is the first essential. We must never allow ourselves to forget, as Maritain has so strongly expressed it:

> Evil remains evil . . . the accomplished horror remains accomplished; and that the suffering and despair of men, a single tear, a single cry torn from the heart by injustice—there can indeed be a recompense for these things (for that cause Jesus died), but they cannot be effaced, they will never be effaced, no, never in all the world again. We forget that it is these errors and faults, these lies, these cruelties, these blindnesses, all this machinery of the "realists" of sinful means brought into action for good ends (to which we resign ourselves with that grain of satisfaction which a superior mind finds in the sense of its own superiority), it is these things which principally and primarily have brought Christendom to the state in which it is today, have brought about that universal misfortune of which civilization today shows us the picture. Christendom will re-create itself by Christian means, or it will come to its complete undoing ["The Question of a Holy War," in *Colosseum*, September, 1937, pages 118-119].

We shall never do good in our world unless we begin each thing, each time, with a *mea culpa*, and

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unless the mood, and the motive force, of what we do is contrition. We shall never do good in our world until we burn our minds clean of the poison which thinks of our relationship to the world, to non-Christians, to the Marxist, in terms of a conflict between good and wicked. Are we the "good," whose privilege it is to march forth, God's banner in hand, to crush the wicked who stand outside our fortress? Let us look at our sorry Christendom, the history of our social expression of Christian truths, our relationship with Mammon, our own lives, and answer the question. We shall never do good in our world until we have realized that pride and violence, and the hatred which comes of them, are all forces not of unity but of disruption. Finally, we shall never do good in our world until we cease to console ourselves, and deceive ourselves, with a policy of negativism. We have spent too long contenting ourselves with indiscriminate negative condemnations of this or that policy or philosophy, forgetting that it is often to the lack of a better alternative that they owe their rise. We have contented ourselves with negatively condemning communism; forgetting the intolerable injustices which explain its success, forgetting the sound and truthful elements in its economics, forgetting the moment of vision which gives it its strength: the vision of the messianism of the proletariat.

The Christian duty was not to deny all that is of truth here, but to affirm it, to correct and perfect it, and to *live* it in its new and completed form. The Christian duty was to do what Canon Cardijn, for example, has done: to show forth the complete vision, to substitute for the materialist proletarian messianism of Marx a Christocentric proletarian messianism; to show what real Christianity means for the poor; to show that the Christian workers' revolution is not brought about by proud condescension from above, or violent disruption from without, but by the rebirth of charity and responsibility and creativity from within—"the worker," as Mounier has said, "will improve himself." The emergence of the Young Christian Workers is perhaps the one phenomenon above all others which shows that Christendom is not yet destroyed. And if we are working for that, for example, then we are working for Christian peace; and we shall not need to feel that we are doing nothing for justice and the defense of the right. For it is evidence of a vitality which is constructively Christian: not materialist, but personalist and spiritual; based not on the fomenting of hate but on the dynamism of charity; not disruptive of society, therefore, through the violence of class-war, but constructive of a new society through the unity which is charity's fruit; finally, not negative, but wholly and fiercely affirmative.

We cannot waste more time being negative. The time is short. If we cannot take active part in the primary work of the Christian social revolution itself we can write or talk about it; we can support noble ventures like the Houses of Hospitality; we can throw all the weight we may have, individually or collectively, into the actual social problems nearest to us: help in resisting any particular instance of injustice that we come across, help in promoting any initiative that we can discover. If, for example, every Catholic parish threw its weight, as a parish, into every question of social justice that arose in the factories and shops of its own particular town, what a difference there would be! To do that adequately we must have a positive program of social justice: the program is there, in principle at least; but we make little use of it. To make real use of it is one of the ways of working for peace.

In international affairs, the same could be true. A movement like the Y.C.W. is of far more than national importance. Like the Marxist, the Catholic must call to the workers of the world to unite—but to a different purpose. Meanwhile, we have to see that individually we are not guilty of pride and violence and hatred in respect of other nations; that we combat these vices wherever we meet them; that we defend, and preach, and practise, the Christian doctrine of the unity of the world, the universal brotherhood of men; and, in consequence, positively support any effort toward international understanding. How easy it is here to forget the question of means: hatred may temporarily subjugate; it will never win.

A great, a supreme, effort is needed. But human effort alone will not avail. There remains always the duty of prayer. The Pope has told us:

> Just as Catholics are called to consolidate and extend the reign of Christ, so also are they called to consolidate and extend His peace; and that, by means of the multiple apostolate of the good word, of beneficent activity, and, finally, of prayer, so easy for all and so powerful—all powerful even before God.

That is why the Union of Prayer for Peace (which has now its national center in the U. S. A.: Reverend E. Hughes, O.P., 1421 West Warren Avenue, Detroit, Michigan) was founded. We shall not have justice, charity and peace unless we both work and pray for them.

There is one other thing which we must not allow ourselves to forget. The Pope, in a striking address, said recently: "I thank God every day for having brought me into being in these present days; for in these present days it is impossible to be mediocre." Never perhaps in the history of Christianity has there been such need of the "God-saturated personality"; there is no influence like the influence of the personality filled with and transparent of God; and if we are not that, we have failed in our vocation as Christians. That is perhaps the last and deepest lesson to be derived from consideration of the foregoing problems.

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Views & Reviews

BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

HAVING called the attention of COMMONWEAL readers to articles by Dr. Leo L. Lehmann on "The Catholic Church in Politics," on the eve of their publication in the *New Republic,* now that the sixth article has brought the series to an end I feel that a few words of comment may be appropriate. First of all, I think that I owe if not an apology certainly some sort of reasonable explanation to those among my readers who may have been led by my first notice of the *New Republic's* articles to buy the copies of that journal containing the series and the correspondence provoked by it. I wrote as I did because I thought that so experienced a journal as the *New Republic* ought to give its readers something really worth while reading and considering on the subject announced, and that, therefore, thoughtful Catholics should follow the discussion carefully, so that they might profit by what I so mistakenly believed would be an important criticism of the Church in relation to American democracy. Well, any money or time expended by Catholics who may have acted upon my suggestion was woefully wasted; I am sorry to have to confess that I led my readers astray.

I have read enormous amounts of anti-Catholic "literature," and journalism; at one time I did little other reading, when preparing a book on that subject; but I must say that Dr. Lehmann's articles in the *New Republic* form quite the most futile contribution to that theme it has ever been my lot to encounter. I am amazed that such stuff, so feeble and fumbling a rehash and watery stew of the stock anti-Catholic bugaboos, and Ku-Klux-Klannery insinuations, which flourished in the hectic year of 1928—and during the previous, more hectic periods of anti-Catholicism when the A.P.A. and the Know-nothing movements were at their zenith—should have been found acceptable by the *New Republic,* and so satisfactory, when published, to so many of that paper's readers, to judge by the letters published while the series was running in its columns. It is true that quite a number of letters including some from writers associated as editors of or as contributors to the *New Republic* strongly objected to Dr. Lehmann's articles, or to the policy of the *New Republic* in publishing them; but on the whole, most of the articles warmly, at times vehemently, approved of both.

In that fact consists the proof of the true importance of the whole lamentable episode, namely, unmistakable evidence of the existence of a deep-seated, far-spread anti-Catholicism, not merely among such elements of our population as responded to the Ku Klux Klan type of propaganda so enthusiastically ten years ago, but, which is far more perilous to the peace and unity of our people, extending to the highly influential class of writers, teachers, publicists of many sorts, for which class the *New Republic,* and the *Nation,* and the *Frontier,* and many other "advanced," or "liberal," or "progressive" organs, as they consider themselves to be, especially cater. It differs from the K.K.K. sentiment in not making use of the crude, fantastic accusations relating to alleged clerical immorality, and Maria Monk salaciousness, which even Dr. Lehmann refrains from using, but at root it is very similar, if not identical. It regards the Catholic Church as being essentially "anti-democratic," and incorrigibly autocratic, and hence allied today to the Fascist totalitarian tyrannies; just as the Ku Klux Klan mentality regarded the Church as being essentially anti-American, because a foreign power, so foreign, indeed, that the true habitat of its autocratic power was not to be found anywhere on earth, being a manifestation of the kingdom of anti-Christ.

The modern "liberals" may and generally do laugh at the quaint fancies of the K.K.K. propagandists, but nevertheless their minds have been conditioned by the main drift and burden of their own tradition expressed in a tremendous mass of literature, in which the Catholic Church appears as necessarily opposed to modern "progress," and "enlightenment"; and always "reactionary," always allied to all social, economic and political forces which oppress and exploit the masses of the people, and which particularly oppose their own efforts to educate, and enlighten, and liberate the world. Of course, I do not say that all modern "liberals," and social reformers, and "progressive thinkers," in our intellectual circles, share that view of the Church; far from it, indeed, but I do say that such a class of fixed ideas about the Church still dominates both the left wing and to a large extent the right wing also of American intellectuals. That is why so many American liberals and radicals who are professedly humanitarian, and indeed, are honestly humane, personally, and who as individuals deprecate all forms of violence, "deplore," as one member of the class publicly did the other day the "excesses" in Spain when some thousands of bishops and priests and nuns were killed; nevertheless they place the main blame of all such events squarely upon the Church, because the Church being reactionary, by their definition, must necessarily provoke revolutions, and its servants must suffer in the process. Too bad; but there it is; it always has been so, is so today, and must be so tomorrow unless the Catholic Church substitutes the *New Republic* for the teachings of the catechism of Trent.

Well, after all, perhaps I was well advised in calling attention to the Lehmann articles. Not in themselves, for they are quite too feeble to count for much of anything, but because they are used as an instrument by our most representative left-wing journal they should call our attention to a way of thinking, an ideology, which is as much opposed to Catholicism as is the ideology of Nazism, or Fascism, or Communism. As a New Year's resolution, American Catholics might adopt and exercise habitually a determination to face the realities of their situation.

Communications

FATHER COUGHLIN AND THE JEWS

Washington, D. C.

TO the Editors: I am a regular reader of your weekly, THE COMMONWEAL, and also of *Social Justice,* which in your issue of December 9 you term "that Hearstian adventure in journalism" (page 169). Let me

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give you my reaction to what you had to say concerning "Father Coughlin and the Jews."

If the Nazi press applauded the November 20 radio broadcast of Father Coughlin as the expression of "a leading anti-Semite" in support of Nazism, it was out of order because *de facto* there was nothing in it for the Nazis to applaud. Like yourselves I do not find it "very strange" that in self-defense they "brought him [Father Coughlin] as a hero to the attention of a bewildered and sorely tried German people." Nor is it surprising that they should invoke the broadcast as "useful to justify the persecution of the Jews." But are you sure that they publicized the entire broadcast for the benefit of the German people? Did they perhaps delete certain portions of it? I wonder.

I listened to the broadcast of November 27 and had before me at the time the printed text of the electrically transcribed discourse. If the editors of THE COMMONWEAL can say the same, then I fail to see how they can come along now and say it was "the substance of his [Father Coughlin's] broadcast" of November 20. Barring a few insignificant changes in the wording and one or the other immaterial omission, the transcribed discourse and the printed text tallied perfectly. Then, did Father Coughlin tell his hearers that he "'will gladly distribute to all who request a copy' certain material published by the Nazis and distributed throughout Germany"? I must have missed that; otherwise I would have requested a copy. Again, I know of at least one red-blooded American who does not "believe that the stuff which Father Coughlin" presents on behalf of social justice "is anti-Semitism."

His broadcast of November 20, I beg leave to submit, was no more anti-Semitic than what Archbishop Mitty told us over the radio on November 16 and what Monsignor Fulton Sheen said in his sermon at the recent Pan American Mass here in Washington. With these two dignitaries of the Church Father Coughlin is in mighty good company. Neither will level-headed and clear-thinking Americans become confused when they compare the utterances of Father Coughlin and his "co-baiters" with those "made by Archbishop Mitty, Cardinal Mundelein, and others of the American hierarchy, and by the Pope himself." Confusion is apt to arise, however, in the minds of such as do not like to see Father Coughlin in this distinguished company. It adds such authority to his words and makes his stand so strong.

Finally, it is quite uncharitable and without definite proof positively unjust to insinuate lack of sincerity by referring to "Father Coughlin's convenient fondness for expressing tender solicitude for what he chooses to call 'the good, God-fearing Jew.'" Would the editors of THE COMMONWEAL say that the aforementioned dignitaries of the Church were insincere when they voiced their sympathy for the innocent Jew suffering for the sins of the guilty Jew? Then why in the case of Father Coughlin and his "co-baiters"?

Let's be impartial. Let's read and study the radio address of November 20, the one that caused the present stir; and, having done so, let's be fair in construing it. Let's not censure Father Coughlin on the basis of an erroneous interpretation, not paint a portrait of him that is not a true likeness.

I am sure the editors of THE COMMONWEAL agree that honesty is the best policy and that the only reasonable way of curing a disease is to discover its cause and then remove it.

REV. FRANCIS BORGIA STECK, O.F.M.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

TO the Editors: I consider that the following quote from the statement made over the air by Father James R. Keane, national director of the Perpetual Novena of Our Sorrowful Mother, deserves publication to offset the untold harm done by Father Coughlin despite his protestations of love etc., for "good Jews and Gentiles." I think he does untold harm to Jew and Catholic alike. The fact that the Catholic hierarchy does not see fit to curb him, tends to make many people suspicious of the good-will of the Catholic Church toward the Jewish people. However, here is the statement made by Father Keane:

"Perhaps the chief indictment against the Jew is that he is by nature a radical. It is found in anti-Semitic literature in the days of the Roman Empire, even before the coming of Christ. Because the Jew has been persecuted for centuries he inclines naturally to take the side of the underdog. A large percentage of the Jewish population of the world is entirely impoverished; it lives from hand to mouth. The situation is obviously unbearable, and that some of them yield to the utopian enticements of communism is understandable. However, popular belief to the contrary, only a small percentage of the total Jewish population of the world has embraced communism. Before the coming of Hitler, several million Germans voted communistic. Since there were scarcely half a million Jews in Germany, it is evident that the voters could not all have been Jews. The situation in America is analogous. Only a very small number of the 5,000,000 American Jews have become Communists. The lists of Red membership in the U. S. contain Jewish names, but the majority of Communists in this country are non-Jews, as are the leaders non-Jews. Communism appeals to all oppressed groups, and it is slander to dismiss communism in America as a Jewish project."

NELL KANE.

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editors: Because many Catholics are terribly worried over many of the tendencies of present Catholic policy, particularly in its sympathy for fascism, and I am glad to say that THE COMMONWEAL is not amongst them, I believe that the more enlightened Catholic publications must come out strongly for freedom of worship and religion for all minorities since anti-Semitism must lead to anti-Catholicism. I ask you therefore to publish this letter.

All Catholics who cherish their liberty and freedom in a democratic government should give careful thought to the words of the Reverend Daniel A. Lord, editor of

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the *Queen's Work,* a Catholic monthly, who states in the January, 1939, issue as follows: "It would be a terrible thing if Catholics through their hatred of Jews aligned themselves with frankly brutal pagans who will, if they succeed in wiping out the Jews, turn their fullest destructive hatred against the Catholics."

It is quite apparent to all thinking Catholics that the Jew is merely a scapegoat in Germany for the Nazis to obtain power. The Jew is weakest numerically and could therefore be most easily wiped out. But wipe out the Jew, and the next scapegoat must be the Catholic. This cycle is now taking place. To encompass the destruction of the Jew all kinds of devices are utilized from the red bogey of communism to the international bankers. The patent falsity of these charges is clearly apparent because communism and international banking are mutually contradictory.

And yet there are Catholics in the United States in high ecclesiastical office who by anti-Semitic propaganda are engaging in activities that must eventually lead to anti-Catholic hatred and persecution.

Let Catholics present a strong front for democracy of all religious groups, as the only way to preserve our own heritage.

JAMES SWEEZY.

Dorchester, Mass.

TO the Editors: I have been receiving a number of copies of your magazine since my last subscription expired. I should have renewed it as soon as I could afford to, had not the editorial I enclose disgusted me ("Father Coughlin and the Jews," in the December 9 issue).

I believe that Catholic literary magazines should present a solid Catholic front or maintain silence upon a controversial subject such as the Reverend Charles Coughlin has become. Until condemnation from the Vatican appears, you should preserve that silence.

I am pro-Semitic, if anything, but I believe THE COMMONWEAL for such an editorial should be condemned.

There were once some bishops who assisted at a trial and death in Rouen.

PATRICIA MCCULLOCH.

St. Louis, Mo.

TO the Editors: Had you called Father Coughlin's attention to your really fine paragraph on the Negro and racial discriminations (issue for December 2, page 142) —a subject on which millions of people would like to know Father Coughlin's position—it seems to me you might have performed a public service, but indulging in an intemperate, not to say vicious attack on him, such as you print in your issue for December 9, appears to be an outstanding disservice not merely to a nationally known speaker, respected by millions of his fellow citizens, but also to the Catholic cause in its larger aspects, and even to your own best interests.

May I suggest that many of your friends were shocked at your undignified outburst and pained at seeing your display of unseemly bias?

REV. HENRY H. REGNET, S.J.

Points & Lines

Eastern Europe

RUMANIA. Area, 113,887 square miles. Before the World War, 60,643. Population, 19,422,660. Capital, Bucharest, with 643,293 inhabitants. Three-fourths of people in agriculture. Carol II was proclaimed king in 1930. Rumania is a member of the Little Entente, now dormant alliance formed by Rumania, Jugoslavia and Czechoslovakia to keep Hungary from regaining her old territory. Also of Balkan Alliance, formed in 1934 by Rumania, Jugoslavia, Greece and Turkey, to prevent Bulgarian repossession of her pre-war lands. Religion: Orthodox, 13,300,000; Greek Catholics, 1,800,000; Roman Catholics, 1,200,000; Jews, 900,000; Reformists, 720,000; Lutherans, 400,000; Moslems, 260,000.

Foreign Policy Reports gives the minority situation thus:

> Out of Rumania's 19 million people, about 4.5 are national minorities: 1.4 million Hungarians (in Transylvania), 800,000 Germans (mostly in Translyvania), 500,000 Ruthenians (in Subcarpathia and Bukovina), 400 000 Bulgars (in Dobrudza), 300,000 Russians (in Bessarabia), 200,000 Turks and Tatars (in Dobrudza), and 900,000 Jews scattered throughout the country.

On February 11, 1938, King Carol abolished Parliament, banned all parties, and proclaimed his dictatorship. From 1933 until this year, foreign policy has oscillated between Germany and France. Since *Anschluss,* the alignment with France has been reaffirmed and a pro-British tendency has been apparent since summer. *Newsweek* says:

> That removal of Czechoslovakia as a barrier to Nazi sway over Central Europe also made Carol rush to London, Paris and Berlin to size up Rumania's chance of resistance. And when he came back to find that the Guard had revived its terrorism in his absence, the ruthless suppression followed as a warning that, however great the Nazi danger from outside, the King didn't intend to tolerate it inside the country.

Time records the German reaction:

> And to ram it home, next day the *Frankfurter Zeitung's* comment on Carol's shooting of Rumanian Nazis was concluded with the observation: "At some time, one is inclined to believe, Rumania will see a revolution, perhaps very soon." Elsewhere the controlled Nazi press began a campaign which suggested that Rumania had now been definitely nominated as next on Germany's list of bloodless conquests. . . . That Germany would threaten to invade Rumania was improbable, since the two have no common frontier. That Germany might foment a Nazi revolt in Rumania, under the slogan, "Fight against World Jewry," had become increasingly probable.

JUGOSLAVIA. Area, 95,576 square miles. Population, 15,286,472; 80 percent rural. Capital, Belgrade (238,775). Formed in 1921 by the amalgamation of a greater Serbia with Montenegro, slices of Hungary, and the regions of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia from Austria. Member of the Little Entente and of the Balkan Alliance. "Of nine rulers in Belgrade in the last century only three died natural deaths at their posts." Alexander I was

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assassinated in Marseilles in 1934. Now Prince Paul rules as Regent for King Peter. Religion: Serbian Orthodox, 6,785,501; Roman Catholic, 5,217,910; Moslem, 1,561,166; Protestant, 231,169; Jew, 68,405; Greek Catholic, 44,608. *Foreign Policy Reports* indicates:

> On January 6, 1929, the Constitution was abolished, and the dictatorship of King Alexander proclaimed. Following the King's assassination on October 9, 1934, the Regent, Prince Paul, appointed Dr. Stoyadinovich's Cabinet in 1935 to "conciliate" the Croats, but no agreement has as yet been reached. The liberal parties of Serbia joined Dr. Matchek, Radich's successor, in the demand for Croatian autonomy. Meanwhile, Premier Stoyadinovich relaxed the rigidity of the former dictatorial régime, but maintained the authoritarian constitution promulgated by King Alexander in 1931, and other decrees concerning pubiic ballot, censorship, etc. . . .
>
> The fact that Germany absorbs nearly half of Jugoslavia's exports, while Jugoslavia accounts for only 2.6 percent of total German imports, creates an abnormal economic dependence which some Jugoslavs denounce as a colonial relationship.

Newsweek for December 19 reports:

> At the election of a new Parliament in Jugoslavia on Sunday, December 11, Premier Milan Stoyadinovich's smooth machine produced the majority of 60 percent confidently predicted by his followers. Only in Croatia did the united opposition parties score. . . . The campaign of the Zbor, Jugoslav fascist party, fell so flat that its leader, former Premier Bobolyub Yevtitch, barely obtained a deputy's seat. Stoyadinovich's victory was largely a vindication of his foreign policy. By signing a friendship pact with Italy and increasing trade with Germany he had ended Jugoslavia's traditional pro-French orientation and balanced the country between the dictators and the democracies.

BULGARIA. Area, 38,826 square miles. Population, 6,210,000; about 80 percent rural. Capital, Sofia (350,000). The Bulgarian Orthodox is the state religion. In 1934 there was a coup d'état of soldier-politicians under Georgiev, by which all parties were prohibited. King Boris III assumed control and has continued his personal rule since. The *Yale Review* states:

> In Bulgaria fascism has recently been on the wane. The country has certainly benefited by four years of non-political administration, inaugurated in 1934. The reopening of Parliament last spring, without restoring the administration of the country to party control, improved the stability of the régime. Its critics came out into the open. . . .

Newsweek relates:

> Bulgaria always observes a day of national mourning on November 27, the anniversary of the post-war treaty of Neuilly. This year the observance started a day early and took a more violent form than usual. . . . Ever since Britain and France surrendered Central Europe to Hitler at Munich, two currents have been working in Bulgaria: on one hand, King Boris and Premier George Kiosseivanoff have sought closer ties with the Balkan Entente as a means of slowing up the Nazi drive by a united front; on the other, Nazi influence from outside has concentrated on increasing popular sentiment in favor of treaty revision.

GREECE. Area, 50,270 square miles. Population, 6,930,000. Capital, Athens (452,915). Religion: Greek Orthodox, 5,961,529; Roman Catholic, 35,182; Protestant, 9,003; Moslem, 126,087; Jews, 72,791. In 1935 the republic was overthrown and George II brought to the throne. On August 4, 1936, the Metaxas fascist dictatorship was set up. The General recently told F. Yeats-Brown, as reported in the *Nineteenth Century and After:*

> "We shall never return to the parliamentary system. A system like the Portuguese may be the best for us. However, we have been only two years in office, and have been busy correcting the mistakes of the past, so it is too soon to prophesy about the future. We keep an open mind, and in close touch with the people."

HUNGARY. Area, 35,875 sqaure miles (pre-Munich). Population in 1936, 8,988,536. Capital, Budapest (1,051,804). Religion: Roman Catholic, 5,634,103 (64.9 percent); Helvetian Evangelical, 1,813,162; Augsburg Evangelical, 534,065; Jew, 444,567; Greek Catholic, 201,093; Greek Oriental, 39,839. Hungary received 4,875 square miles with 860,000 people from Hitler. *Foreign Policy Reports* shows:

> The government of Premier Bela Imredy is supported mainly by the National Unity party, representing the interests of the estate owners, the upper middle class, well-to-do peasants, and part of the Catholic and Protestant clergy. . . . The rôle of obstacle to the growth of native Nazism played by the monarchy in Rumania is played in Hungary by the feudal class.

Since this report appeared, the Imredy government has been out of office and back in again. *Newsweek* reported:

> Bela Imredy put the finishing touches to a program for a "wonder revolution" without revolutionary violence. Its chief points were to be land reform in favor of the poverty-stricken peasants; a more authoritarian rule by decree, replacing Parliament; and, in international affairs, continued walking of the tightrope between the Rome-Berlin axis and its enemies. But half an hour before Imredy was to explain the "wonder revolution" to his Party of National Unity, his plans were cut short by an unscheduled revolt. . . . The dissidents promptly formed a coalition with scattered liberals and conservatives, plus the Farmers party run by the shrewd opportunist, Tibor Eckhardt. The coalition defeated Imredy in a test vote in the Chamber. Radical Social Democrats and Nazis didn't vote but jeered from the side lines. Imredy resigned. . . . On November 27, Horthy called Imredy to the Royal Palace [where he lives as Regent] and handed the Premier's resignation back to him. . . . Several motives explained the coalition against him: part was plain jealousy over the sudden rise of the 47-year-old banker who became Premier last May 13; some also was due to dissatisfaction because, after recovering much of Hungary's lost territory from Czechoslovakia, he did not press on against Hitler's wishes and take part of Ruthenia also. But the most significant issue was land reform. This is Hungary's weak spot. The country has 3,000,000 landless peasants, almost a third of its population. And 12,500,000 acres out of a total of 14,000,000 are in the hands of large or moderate-sized landowners. Land reform is detested by the landed gentry who make up the bulk of Imredy's National Unity party.

THE UKRAINE. For about two centuries prior to 1917 the Ukrainian people had no political government based upon ethnographic foundations. Except for a brief period under Hetman Bohdan Khmelnitsky in the seventeenth century, it is a question whether the "Little Russians" ever were a nation, and even in this case there is some question. In fact it was only during the nineteenth century, when nationalism everywhere was in the ascendant, that anything approaching clear evidence of a popular

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desire for autonomy appeared among these people. The following is the entire article "Ukraine" in the pre-war "Encyclopaedia Britannica":

> UKRAINE ("frontier"), the name formerly given to a district of European Russia, now comprising the governments of Kharkov, Kief, Podolia and Poltava. The portion east of the Dnieper became Russian in 1686 and the portion west of that river in 1793.

The pre-war "Catholic Encyclopedia" signalizes the dislike of the "Little Russians" (Ukrainians) for the Great Russians:

> The difference between Great and Little Russians is not only anthropological, but is also one of temperament and character, the Little Russians protesting that they are not Muscovites; and to emphasize their antipathy for the other race, in the nineteenth century they attempted to give a literary development to their dialect.

In the census of 1897, according to this same authority, there were in the Russian Empire 22,380,350 "Little Russians" of which the vast majority were Russian Orthodox in religion. The southern regions they inhabit are intensely fertile and also contain large deposits of coal; before the war many of these people had emigrated to Siberia and rumor has it that the Soviet government has not discouraged the continuance of this emigration.

The post-war history of the Ukraine is highly confused. Here is a summary from the new volumes of the thirteenth edition of the "Britannica":

> When . . . the Provisional Government was established in Petrograd in March, 1917, a Ukrainian deputation waited on it in the following month to demand autonomy for their country, and on April 19 the first Ukrainian National Congress met at Kiev to elect a Council of Government (Rada). In June this body assumed the control of Ukrainian affairs, and in August the Provisional Government of Russia recognized the autonomy of the Ukraine. Contemporaneously with the Bolshevik revolution in Petrograd the Rada proclaimed a People's Republic (November 10, 1917). Negotiations between the Rada and the Russian Soviet Government took place in December and the former sent delegates to the peace conference at Brest-Litovsk, who were duly recognized by the Central Powers. On December 26 the first all-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets met at Kharkov. In January, 1919, relations between the Russian Soviet and the Rada were broken off, and the latter proclaimed its complete independence. Bolshevik troops invaded the Ukraine and in March the Rada appealed to the Central Powers against the Moscow government.
>
> Meanwhile the Ukrainian delegates at Brest-Litovsk had concluded a peace with the Central Powers (February 9 and 11, 1918), under which, *inter alia*, the frontiers of the republic were delimited. By the end of April German and Austrian troops had occupied the Ukraine and established a military dictatorship under Hetman Skoropadski, and early in May an armistice with Soviet Russia was proclaimed, followed in the same month by definite peace negotiations.

There followed a peasants' uprising against the German administration; after various vicissitudes, caught between the Soviets and Denikin's army and hating German interference, the country was finally set up as an independent Soviet republic (1920). In 1923 the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic became a constituent member of the U. S. S. R.

All this history needs repeating if we are to understand the present Ukrainian question. Control of this rich agricultural country has been a German dream since the days of Bismarck, and for a few months the dream was an established fact, as we are so likely to forget. Clearly enough the people did not like direct German rule; the next best thing to it would be an autonomous Ukrainian state under German control. What is helpful to the Nazi Reich in this ambition is the existence of a Ukrainian minority in Poland which has long been persecuted by the Polish government with regard to its "national" culture (either Russian dissidence or Byzantine rite in religion, Ukrainian language and customs in social life). Recent accounts of this, too long and detailed to quote here, have appeared in the London *Catholic Herald* and in the *Eastern Churches Quarterly* (*inter alia*, October, 1938, page 245). A further help to Nazi ambitions has lain in Ruthenia, the easternmost part of Czechoslovakia, the population of which is largely Ukrainian. One result of the Munich settlement was the making autonomous of this region, which means that it is open to Nazi propagandists, whose principal activity is to foster Ukrainian nationalism in other Ukrainian lands—now having an aggregate population of about 45,000,000.

That the Vatican is concerned at the ill-feeling between Poles and Ukrainians is indicated by a recent Associated Press dispatch concerning a statement by the Papal Nuncio to Poland, Archbishop Filippo Cortesi:

> "The Holy Father, addressing the people of this land, is much concerned and strongly urges that for the sake of general happiness the people give up hatred and anger and find a way to mutual understanding."

Meanwhile the Nazi press has been calling strongly for an independent Ukraine. Another Associated Press report credits the *Schlesiche Zeitung* of Breslau with making this statement, among others, on the subject:

> "We point out . . . that today, more than ever before, the Ukrainians are conscious of their national state and that memories of the short and bloody struggle of 1919 to 1920—heroic despite all its shortcomings—are still alive. In any case, if Europe does not wish to be surprised by developments, the extent of which cannot be foreseen today, she should watch closely the movement in the territory between river, steppe, sea and Carpathians."

To create such an autonomous Ukraine would mean dealing with the opposition of Poland, Rumania and Soviet Union, assuming that Ruthenia is already friendly to the idea. Of these, Poland would come first, and the Chicago *Daily News* admirably summarizes the situation from a Polish point of view:

> The Ukraine now is split up. Part—the biggest part—is in southwestern Russia. Part—the smallest part—is in Ruthenia, the eastern tip of what used to be Czechoslovakia. And part—a sizable part, too—is in Poland. Already Hitler has virtually annexed Ruthenia. It is full of his agents, organizing a Ukrainian propaganda directed against both Russia and Poland. For Germany's road to the Russian Ukraine does not lie through Hungary and the Carpathians, but across Poland, into and through the Polish Ukraine.
>
> Poland's diplomats have seen the menace, of course. They are trying to strengthen their ties with Rumania. And, above all, they are hastily making up to Soviet Russia. If a bloc can be formed of Poland, Rumania and Russia, will Germany be deterred, unless Hitler also feels himself in danger from France and Britain? And have not France and Britain just about washed their hands of him? For Poland it is all very disturbing.

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The Stage & Screen

American Landscape

IN INTENTION at least Elmer Rice's play is admirable. It shows too that Mr. Rice has abandoned his somewhat jejune attitude toward social questions, and has emerged a believer in the American tradition of democracy. In "American Landscape" he no longer genuflects before the altar of the Kremlin. In his play he takes a typical New England manufacturing family, the head of which is about to sell the business in order to live in peace, away from the harassings of labor unions. But his family object to the business getting out of their control and so do his ancestors who founded the business. The latter arrive in their habits as they lived, and without the slightest trouble become part of the family councils. Mr. Rice evidently thinks that in New England people not only believe in ghosts, but are not surprised when they appear —even when two of them are Moll Flanders and Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe. It is right here that Mr. Rice shows the weakness of his method. Ghosts are perfectly legitimate meat for a dramatist, but they must not be introduced into a purely realistic setting and among realistic people without some atmospheric preparation. In fact the dramatist who uses them must have imagination and a touch of poetry. But in matter and manner Mr. Rice is distinctly a prosaic writer, a realist of the realists; fantasy is not for him. And fantasy above all else is needed in "American Landscape." But at least let us raise our hat to Mr. Rice's intention. If only he had collaborated with Philip Barry! The acting is on the whole excellent. Special notice should be given to Charles Waldron, Sylvia Weld, Isobel Elsom, Lillian Foster, Theodore Newton, Donald Cook, Phoebe Foster and Rachel Hartzell. (At the Cort Theatre.)

Spring Meeting

THIS Anglo-Irish play by M. J. Farrell and John Perry is a play the season has been looking for, a truly amusing comedy. The story is simple even tenuous. It has to do with an Irish baronet who keeps his family on short rations, but is circumvented by his oldest daughter and an old flame. Between them they marry themselves off and also the rest of the family, and all ends happily and amusingly. But it is useless to tell the plot of a play like this. Its appeal depends on the wit of the dialogue, the twists of the situations, and the skill of the acting. And in this play the dialogue is delightful, the situations often hilarious, despite a drop in interest in the second act, and the acting some of the best of the season. Charming and worldly is Gladys Cooper, delightful are the two young girls as played by Aideen O'Connor and Shelah Richards (Hollywood will surely catch the former if she doesn't watch out), eternally youthful is A. E. Matthews as Sir Richard Furze, and James Woodburn, Jean Cadell, Denis Carey, Arthur Shields and Robert Fleming are all just what they ought to be. Yes, "Spring Meeting" is just the play you and I have been looking for, a sort of second "Bachelor Born." It is witty, keen in characterization, Irish, and innocent. It is a play that sophisticates and country cousins will love equally. Go to see it. (At the Morosco Theatre.) GRENVILLE VERNON.

"God Bless Us, Every One!" Say Tiny Tim and Errol Flynn

LIBERTIES were taken in the filming of "A Christmas Carol," but not too many to spoil the cheery spirit of Dickens's lovable book. The picture is somewhat disappointing, principally because Hollywood insists on making things slicker than they are, because the Carol's vivid prose and luscious descriptions of savory foods and Christmas trimmings cannot be captured by the cinema and because the lively Fezziwig ball is omitted. Outstanding are Reginald Owen's mean, miserly, cold, hard Scrooge, Gene Lockhart's oppressed but spirited Bob Cratchit, Terry Kilburn's Tiny Tim that does not drool with sentiment, and some snowy scenes of nineteenth-century London that exude Christmas cheer. May this new film about Scrooge and the three spirits who soften his heart bring some of the happiness that "A Christmas Carol" has spread since its appearance in 1843!

Excitement and tension are so great in "Dawn Patrol" that one can hardly follow the picture rationally. As each scene of fliers' going out into the dawn, some to come back, some to crash, is built upon the other scenes of excessive drinking, keeping up nerves, trivial conversation, and death, death, death, one thinks there must be a respite soon. But no! "Dawn Patrol," based on John Monk Saunders's tight story about the Royal Flying Corps on the British front in 1916, directed by Edmund Goulding, zooms to the end when one more plane is shot down and another officer steps up to carry on, and you are left limpid and worn-out. Much credit should go to the all-male cast, especially David Niven and Basil Rathbone, for acting that makes this anti-war film so effective. Errol Flynn does his best job as the captain who grimly resents Rathbone's suicidal commands until Flynn ironically becomes the commander who must send green recruits out on dawn patrol. At times, the picture's main purpose is confused: what is being indicted—war or England's muddling unpreparedness that fed so many untrained men to slaughter? Fortunately few mistakes of glorifying war are made—unless the sacrificial dying for one's friend is glorious. Typical of the picture's tone is Donald Crisp's complaint that he has to write so many letters of sympathy that they are becoming stereotyped and Flynn's disgust with this great big, noisy, stupid game that doesn't mean anything at all.

Charles Boyer's new French film with English titles is interesting mainly for the sincere performance of Michèle Morgan in the rôle of a woman whom men cannot resist. "Orage" tells simply and realistically the story of a man who is torn between devotion to his wife and infatuation for a *femme fatale* who is no beauty or "vamp." Unfortunately the picture is badly edited and does not carry to a convincing conclusion the fine characterizations and calm dignity of its early sequences. PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

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Books of the Day

The Rugged Road

The Education of an American, an Autobiography, by Mark Sullivan; Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.50.

ORDINARILY it would be unpardonable for a reviewer to inject the personal pronoun in his review of another man's autobiography, nor shall I do it here because Mark Sullivan was my college classmate. I do it to illustrate what seems to me the most interesting feature of Mr. Sullivan's book. I was born in New England, of almost pure Anglo-Saxon stock (a dash of Welsh far back) who had been in Puritan New England since the 1630's, and my ancestors were farmers. Mark was born in eastern Pennsylvania, the son of two Irish Catholic immigrants, and reared on a farm. The story of his early years, not only the records of farm chores and simple pleasures, but of the family desires to achieve education, the sacrifices, the honesty and independence, told by him with simple directness and obviously from a vivid memory, could be so almost exactly duplicated in the New England I knew as a boy that it is uncanny.

As Mark at fifteen went away to school, so my father went. As Mark worked from nineteen to twenty-two in order to earn enough to go on to college, so my father worked. And behind each lad was the farm, and the parents who had given their sons ambition and purpose, and from the small stock of books in the home intellectual curiosity, and from their own characters honesty and fearlessness. Mark says nothing whatever about his religious training, and though he quotes a few of his parents' Irish jokes and traits of character, there is little enough to suggest any great Celtic difference in his background. Had my father written an autobiography, he would have said little enough about his religious training, if indeed he had any formal training until he went to Andover (where he resented the rigid Calvinism which still lingered there). And what I am getting at by this analogy is that between the Irish Catholic and the Puritan Anglo-Saxon, under normal conditions of American life, there is a striking bond. The two breeds and creeds never mingled under normal conditions in New England, especially Massachusetts, for reasons I cannot enter into here. What should have been happy unions has always been more or less open warfare. Actually there is no more promising racial cross in America. The loss has been tragic.

Next to the story of his emergence from a simple, rugged farm where the seeds of culture were sown with the potatoes, the most interesting feature of Mr. Sullivan's book is his allotment of many, many pages to his account of those years when he was a small-town reporter, earning enough to go to Harvard, and his disposition of his Harvard education in two pages. Probably he doesn't mean to say that he got his education before he reached Harvard, but that is what it amounts to. If he had gone to Harvard first he would probably write today with more of that delicate artistry which characterizes the new autobiography of his fellow Pennsylvanian, Logan Pearsall Smith, but probably he would never have edited *Collier's*, nor wiped patent medicine ads. from the pages of our press nor become a journalistic force in the nation. Fortunately for all concerned, he learned to love a composing room before he had a chance to try an ivory tower.

WALTER PRICHARD EATON.

BIOGRAPHY

Whitman, by Newton Arvin. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.75.

The Start of the Road, a Novel by John Erskine. New York: Frederick A. Stokes. $2.50.

BOTH of these books are written by admirers of the poet, who have given much attention to the recent publications of his early writings as well as to "Leaves of Grass." They have little else in common, and the title of the first is misleading. Mr. Arvin, who is apparently a Socialist, discusses the problem of Whitman's views on Socialism. Walt seems never to have mentioned Marx, but once declared he was more a Socialist than he supposed himself. And the present study arrives at the conclusion that a modern Socialist can be inspired by Whitman. But at times Mr. Arvin has hard going, for he dislikes mysticism, and fails to see that Walt wtihout mysticism is less than half himself. Whitman was a realist in the same sense as Epictetus, and while he once spoke of the wrongs of the Mexican War, was less apologetic about it than Mr. Arvin could wish: in this approaching the usual view of the normal American so much celebrated in the "Leaves." Walt was an optimist, not purely because of the nineteenth century, but by temperament, and as the result of much experience. And while he was tolerant of radicals and sympathized with them, he always saw the other side, and sympathized with that too. Whitman wanted to inspire the soul of man to include all human activity in what he accepted. He shared the religious feeling of Christian and heathen Mexican "walking his teocallis," and felt some pity for the anarchists of Chicago. But he was a hard-headed follower of Epictetus; he thought man, in the last analysis, must depend on himself, he identified the Ego as part of God, and after his youth (when Mr. Cleveland Rodgers once said he thought the defeat of the Democrats turned Walt from politics to poetry) he avoided joining any kind of organization, and forbade his followers to found a cult, of any kind, about him. He would surely sympathize with the good aspirations of a Socialist. But there is a difference between "Camerado" and "Comrade Whitman." Walt's remark that he would not look well in a uniform had a symbolic meaning of vast and disarming tolerance. Inspiration a Socialist or a conservative may find in him, as Traubel and Saintsbury did, but hardly a proselyte for the doctrines of anyone but himself.

John Erskine's novel is based on wide and thorough study, and has something of the stimulating quality of his lectures on Whitman, human and penetrating and alive. He allows nothing to happen that could not, but allows his imagination to play on the obscure parts of the poet's biography. The story is mainly concerned with Walt's supposed love affair in New Orleans. Its existence rests mainly on a few cryptic remarks in old age, and a faded picture of a dark girl. For some reason Walt did not marry her. Mr. Erskine has about as hard a problem to handle to make the hero a sympathetic character as a novelist could find, for he cannot, like a regular biographer, reserve judgment until he is sure it happened. But the affair, he decides, was really excused by the laws of the time. The lady was an octoroon, and promised to marry the hero as soon as she could come North, but decided not to do so for his own good. Her white blood was French, she had been in Paris. Like a true Erskine heroine, she is much more clever than her man, and wakes him to his mission as a poet. This last seems to me more fitting in a

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novel than it would be in a biography, but it is done delightfully, and the fact remains that something did happen that made Walt a poet on his journey South in 1846. And a good many scholars have come to think there was a love affair of some sort on that journey. The incidental pictures of Whitman are often fine dramatizations of things known to have happened, and in the discussions of Whitman and Emerson an explanation is offered of the passages in "Calamus" that repel so many readers: "They are inserted so that no human emotion may be omitted." This will please many persons who have no taste for them. The novel is one of Mr. Erskine's best. Errors in factual passages are not noticeable. THOMAS OLLIVE MABBOTT.

The World Was My Garden, by David Fairchild. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.75.

IN WRITING the story of his life, it is easy for David Fairchild to keep very close to the main theme, which is, as the subtitle of the book states, the "Travels of a Plant Explorer." It is no dull restriction to keep close to the facts about foreign plants and their descriptions written for amateurs, and to descriptions of their native environments and the story of how the author and his colleagues developed the Office of Seed and Plant Introduction in order to bring the beautiful and useful ones into America. More than 200 of Mr. Fairchild's excellent photographs show the more interesting of the plants, and the distant places Mr. Fairchild went to find and obtain them, and some of the persons he met along the way. This subject, it is clear, is a very broad one. The approach of a plant expert proves to be a most invigorating one. London is a city built next to Kew Gardens; Japan is a horticultural paradise; the Kaiser is a man who had a lovely garden on Corfu (with, however, "too many marble and bronze statues to suit my taste"). This gives an exaggerated impression, but, having a sort of single and tangible standard, the author's judgments are impartial and lively.

Mr. Fairchild started out as a young scientist from the West—according to his autobiography, definitely a "hick"—who came to Washington and got a job in the modest Department of Agriculture (1889). He temporarily left the service when there was a chance for him to study in Europe, and over there he met and was taken up by Mr. Barbour Lathrop, a rich and cultured American who could almost serve as the type of the romantic world-wandering American of independent means. Through character, inclination, ability, and the good fortune of becoming almost a relative of Mr. Lathrop, David Fairchild entered with security and inevitability on his career. The author is unsentimental, and he writes just a little impatiently—with a somewhat testy humor—as an intelligent man who knows very well he wasn't born yesterday, and who pretends to think that people in general ought to know at least something definite about what it is all about.

The period of the turn of the century and up to the World War was a time when this country was creating, not a somewhat theoretic and idealized "American Dream," but what appears to be in fact the real content of the American myth and dominant culture. It was imperial America. At no time and in no place in history had there ever been such a sure thing as this country was then. "The World Was My Garden" projects the real magnificence and unreflective optimism of the period. Even while recognizing the hollow center of this heroic age, one sees that it was, in its way, a heroic age. David Fairchild is

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reticent and careful seldom to philosophize about himself or the era, and he does not directly or deliberately give the tone of his times. But the evidence is very full, although indirect, and, altogether, the same thing seems lacking in the book as appears missing in that pre-war development: it was too completely empirical; the integration must come from outside the experiences which interested the times. Still, the facts and experiences are fascinating data in themselves.

The people the author met were doing "worth-while" things, things unquestionably important in creating the twentieth century. In the first place, the author was a member of the government and Department of Agriculture while they were growing incredibly, and he was a member of Washington's most interesting and perhaps most influential society. As a young man he saw the first X-ray photograph the day Roentgen took it. He married the daughter of Alexander Graham Bell, was partner at first of Glenn Curtiss and saw the first public flight of the Wrights. He visited Luther Burbank, worked at the beginnings of plant pathology, helped start governmental farms and gardens. He was in (for instance) at the beginning of the modern office and library filing systems, he was interested in early experimental schools for the blind and deaf and dumb, in the introduction of the Montesorri method; he saw Florida welcome almost its first winter visitors. And he certainly became one of the world experts on foods. It is a book that will probably appeal according to the taste of the reader, but there is material in it on the times and the man to make a feast for those who wish it. PHILIP BURNHAM.

CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Government in Fascist Italy, by H. Arthur Steiner. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. $1.50.

WE HAVE plenty of books on fascism, pro and contra, but an up-to-date study which brings into sharp relief all the essential matters of fact about real conditions in Italy is certainly far from being useless. If democracy wants to fight fascism nothing is more needed than scrupulous and accurate information. A thorough reading of Steiner's excellent inquiry will change many preconceptions and will guide the student from the well-known fascist doctrine to the less-known legislative and administrative organization of contemporary Italy. Steiner's emphasis is not on the ideology of the Corporate State but on the actual functions of its institutions. The author, an assistant professor of political science at Los Angeles, has based his penetrating analysis on both personal observations and extensive reading. In spite of his own affection for democratic and liberal thoughts, Steiner explains the undeniable achievements of fascism with the objectivity expected of the conscientious political scientist.

According to the author's explanations we have to admit Mussolini's success in developing among a people naturally averse to strong government a high degree of political consciousness, and in constructing in impoverished Italy a self-contained national economy. But for this achievement no doubt the personal rights of the individual were sacrificed to an all-powerful police-state. Will this really be the general end of twentieth-century history as the fascists proclaim? Steiner points to certain parallels to fascism in the régimes of Nationalist Spain, of Portugal, of several Baltic and Balkan countries, as well as in the program of the Ukrainian National Movement and perhaps even in the New Deal. Nevertheless he has no confidence in fascism as "the final and definitive panacea" for the modern crisis. To him "the solution which fascism has to offer is hardly more than the regimentation of modern technology on the basis of quasi-medieval conceptions." Democracy will survive. But it has to learn "to reconcile individual liberty with the regulation and control of social affairs necessitated by the general welfare." Democracy, as the author hopes, should and will "emerge from the test of its struggle with fascism with a more secure knowledge and appreciation of its own *raison d'être.*" This optimistic epilogue may console many readers after the vivid picture Steiner has presented of the effectiveness of party despotism in Italian government. C. O. CLEVELAND.

A Philosophy of Work, by Etienne Borne and François Henry; translated by Francis Jackson. New York: Sheed and Ward. $2.50.

THE NEED for Christian literature on the subject of work is imperative. Its extreme importance as well as the gap it must fill are both strikingly revealed through a reading of this volume, which is a fitting explication of the principles and traditions which are embodied in the work of La Jeunesse Ouvrière Catholique. To those in it ". . . who are faithful to the working class, faithful to the holiness of labor, faithful to Christ, and . . . builders of a new world . . ." the book is dedicated. It is an outgrowth of a more metaphysical work, "Le Travail," by Dr. Haessle—which met only with obscurity, because moderns will have nothing to do with the "arid and toilsome" road of metaphysics. But since religion as well as metaphysics must enter into the understanding of work, the present volume has been written from the standpoint of Christians and of workers. However, in this respect it is still in much need of simplification, for not many workers would find themselves at home amidst the idiom.

Undeniably the nature of work is the problem at the center of the modern crisis; especially since labor has become conscious and articulate. In the ancient world, labor was taken for something inhuman; the function of slaves, not of free men. It was in the medieval world that work was first recognized as the volitional act of a human person, and in consequence, a partaker in the holiness of personality. But the medieval attention was absorbed in the human sequel to work; namely, contemplation. Work was looked upon as essentially ascetical. Nevertheless, work had now a more just value in the scale of things. Then work was transformed by the Calvinist ideal: it was made into an end in itself, no longer subservient to human needs. And following this came the great crime of modern capitalism which has made a world of workers who produce for production's sake, through a labor empty of joy or of further purpose. Labor, conscious of itself by now, is developing a new chivalry, a chivalry of work. Communism embodies this ideal in the contemporary phenomenon of Stakhanovism. However, in a thinly developed chapter, the writers point out the dangers of this new chivalry. Is it not, they ask, the error of capitalism badly patched up? For Stakhanovism introduces joy into work, from which it has so long been lacking, but only on the same capitalist basis, of exploitation of the laborer.

Labor was driven into the communist camp perforce by the treacherous attitude taken by so many Christian spokesmen. These identified work with a curse laid upon the sons of Adam. The Marxist metaphysic, being materialistic, cannot give a full philosophy of work because work has spiritual and religious elements. The moderns

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have stripped work of religion and have made it an end. Perhaps this is why sport, war and other lesser things have usurped the dignity which is work's. Christians, when they have uncomprehendingly called work a curse, have implicitly aligned themselves with the exploiters of labor. There is suffering in work; but it is a mystical torment, an ascesis in the medieval sense, and not a curse. How can that which is a duty be likewise a curse? Again, work has a joy, but the joy is likewise mystical, and is not the joy sought by the Stakhanovist. Moreover, work is service and it contains friendship.

If Stakhanovism is an arrow, indicating the trend of a new society, can it be intercepted and corrected by the full-blown Christian answer? Can the worker be integrated in an integral Christianity? As a contribution toward such an end, the authors have submitted this essay.

JOSEPH MC DONALD.

DRAMA

The Flashing Stream, by Charles Morgan. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

IT IS doubtful if "The Flashing Stream" will be acted on the New York stage. It is probably too limited in appeal to commend itself to a Broadway manager, and it needs an actress possessed of the rare combination of emotional richness with intellectual power. Such an actress was found in London in Margaret Rawlings, and Mr. Morgan has paid his tribute by dedicating to her the printed play. "The Flashing Stream" tells the story of a group of British navy officers self-immured on an island in the attempt to invent an aerial torpedo which will destroy all airplanes. With the officers is one woman, Karen, a great mathematician, who devotes herself to collaboration with Commander Ferrers in perfecting the torpedo. They fall in love with each other, but such is their utter dedication to their work that they put their love aside as something which would destroy the work on which they are engaged.

The play is in Mr. Morgan's own words an apotheosis of "singleness of mind," and in his introduction the author throws down the gauntlet to those whom he calls "chromium platers," that group of so-called intellectuals who cannot understand how two persons who are attracted to each other can resist that attraction. It might therefore be denominated a moral play, though Mr. Morgan's morality unfortunately does not stem from any laws of revealed religion. But at all events it is a relief to find a dramatist nowadays who dares to say "No" to the unlimited exercise of sexual desire. Mr. Morgan's attitude may be at base a pagan one, but it is certainly an advance on that of the neo-pagans of Greenwich Village and Bloomsbury. After all the great pagans of antiquity did believe in a moral law, and so apparently does Mr. Morgan, though he calls it "singleness of mind." If "The Flashing Stream" is ever given in New York it will have to be cut drastically, and perhaps pruned of some passages of fine writing, but on the whole it is an admirably written play.

GRENVILLE VERNON.

POETRY

Riders at the Gate, by Joseph Auslander. New York: The Macmillan Company. $1.75.

IT IS Joseph Auslander the craftsman, not the artist, which is most evident in these sixty odd poems. Nor is the careful craftsman always at work. For Mr. Auslander shows an intoxication with words and phrases which

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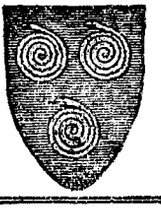

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Next Week

The congressional consideration of monopolistic practices began on a temperate note, indicating a scientific, rather than a political, approach. Startling figures have been adduced by economists Lubin and Thorpe. "The combined weight and scope of the testimony is staggering" says Francis Downing in **Monopoly Investigation: Prologue.** It may even be possible, suggests Mr. Downing, that the committee is going in over its head.

A practical technique for evangelization and college education in the South has been evolved by the Seventh Day Adventists, and put on a practical and self-sustaining basis. Richard L. G. Deverall describes the various components of the Madison, Tenn., College-Sanitarium-Farm operated by Dr. E. A. Sutherland. **Opportunity in The South** urges Catholics to do likewise.

The huge mail-order houses are often pictured as devouring monsters, destroying the small merchant and the competitive spirit. Henry Tetlow is convinced that the reverse is true: the "crossroad store" of today, competing with the mail-order people, is immeasurably improved over the store of a generation ago which usually had no competition, no merchandising ability and no future. **Who Said Eheu Fugaces?** will provoke many an argument.

If you think that chemical warfare was strictly a World War development you are wrong—chemicals were used in battle as early as the Greco-Trojan war. **Chemical Warfare—As Old As History,** by Herbert L. Grimes, is an amazing piece of research on the ingenuity of man in finding practical ways of maiming, torturing and killing through the ages.

Week by Week, pertinent editorial comment, **Points & Lines,** an integration of contemporary opinion on current events, **Views & Reviews,** Michael Williams' own column, reviews of important **Books** of the week, critiques of **Stage** and **Screen, The Inner Forum** are other facets of the timely new COMMONWEAL.

frequently overrides the appositeness of what he has to say. Thus in "Grave Considerations," writing of Newton's apple: "This fruit by some celestial error slipped from the sleepy fist of the sun"; or, again, of "City Pigeons on Sunday": "But we have snared them from their bright domain." Often, too, as in "Never the Nightingale," the slenderness of the theme is overweighted with a succession of metaphors. In "Riders at the Gate," wherein apocalyptic imagery is used (the riders are the three horsemen—Death, Destruction and Hate) his concern with phrasing is most noticeable. All the changes on one theme are rung through a succession of quatrains which in no whit advance the thought. This, the most ambitious poem of the collection, is marred because the poet recounts the illnesses of the times in a Jeremiad which does not go beyond abhorrence. Unquestionably Mr. Auslander is deeply disturbed by conditions which confront the world today—this is evident in additional shorter poems—but it is seldom that he writes with more penetration than pity, which is so vaguely implicit that it is lost in the very violence of the language.

In such poems as "The Unreconciled," "Dark Dilemma" and "Christmas Encyclical" he does, however, rise to the proper heights. This latter poem is among the finest in the book even if the otherwise splendid conclusion is marred by the switch from the plural to the singular, and by the phrase "in hell":

> "Either we stand with Christ in hell,
> And His faith brevets our behavior;
> Or muffle the drum and drape the bell,
> And perish, Christian, with your Saviour!"

If one were to contrast these three poems with the much-ado-about-nothing of "The Shell," "Lacrimae Rerum" and "Locust," the conclusion must evidently be that when Mr. Auslander has a genuinely moving and powerful theme he eloquently meets the occasion. Otherwise, and this too frequently occurs, he spins in gold intricate word patterns over the clay of subject-matter.

Fire against the Sky, by Irene Wilde. New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation. $2.00.

THERE are a scattering of good poems in this collection by Miss Wilde, who has won a number of regional poetry contests, and herewith publishes her first book. The one quality, however, which would aid her most, she has neglected. This is discipline. And primarily what is needed is discipline at the source of inspiration, for too many of her verses spring from nothing more than a desire for personal expression. When Miss Wilde is genuinely compelled to write through a desire to share experience with the reader, she does achieve poetry.

Valhalla and Other Poems, by Robert Francis. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.00.

A NARRATIVE poem should not stand solely on the fact that it embodies a "good yarn," for the question should inevitably arise: "Why spin the yarn in poetry?" Possibly Mr. Francis would answer that he wished to write poetry—certainly the answer is dictated by "Valhalla," the narrative. Yet the true poetic answer should be very much more than this—at least it should be that the medium of poetry offers the only solution for the effects he wishes to achieve in the readers' responses. Nor is the essence of poetry as a fine art present in his shorter pieces which fill out the volume.

JOHN GILLAND BRUNINI.

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The Inner Forum

THE DECEMBER issue of the *Clergy Review* of London contains an article examining "the oldest Christmas Carol." Saint Luke's Gospel tells of the angel choir singing: "Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace to men of good-will," and from the earliest times these words were the introduction of a hymn of praise and thanksgiving. "There is such a hymn in the text of the Apostolic Constitutions, which probably gives us a tradition of the second if not of the first century A. D. . . . The text of the hymn that we sing at Mass is very like that contained in one of the three earliest manuscripts of the Gospels, the Codex Alexandrinus, now in the British Museum (Codex A). . . . Many of the early manuscripts say that Saint Hilary, who died in 366, first brought the *Gloria in Excelsis* from the eastern to the western Church. . . . The text of the hymn as it first reached the West must have been very similar to the actual reading of Codex A and to that preserved in the Missal. But it seems likely that the best Latin tradition is derived from a text even more primitive than that in Codex A." Also in the *Clergy Review*, a review of "The Christmas Crib," by Nesta de Robeck, summarizes the history of the devotion "which began in Bethlehem itself, was established later at St. Mary Major's in Rome, and was fostered by various means in the West, chiefly by the Nativity Play. The license of the latter brought it under the ban of the Church. But not for long. Saint Francis of Assisi re-established the Crib at Greccio. He stripped it of the trivialities and profanities, the accretion of centuries, which tended to obscure the main subject. . . . Although the exuberance of the Renaissance destroyed the simplicity of the Franciscan Crib and occasionally introduced a discordant note, the 'Little Lord Jesus' still remained the focal-point of Christian rejoicing at Christmas time. Not even the Reformation could kill the enthusiasm of the faithful, though it certainly sobered it, and post-Reformation Germany gave us the simple, homely, domestic Christmas Crib."

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